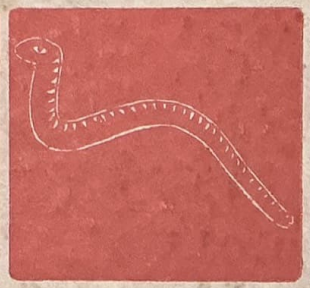
HISTORICAL ATLAS



BIBLICAL TIMES

To Bonnie Pete,
With best wishes.
Christmas 1942.
from Charles

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— The Graphic —

HISTORICAL ATLAS of PALESTINE

by Dr. F. A. THEILHABER, Designed and Edited by Dr. J. SZAPIRO

2000 — 333 B.C.

ISRAEL IN BIBLICAL TIMES

by Dr. B. MAISLER

ENGLISH EDITION

TEL-AVIV DR. J. SZAPIRO JERUSALEM

FOREWORD

Palestine, the land of the Bible, the ancient home of the Hebrew race and faith, the cradle of Christianity, has for centuries been one of the countries on which world-wide interest has been focussed. Today, as in the days of yore, it remains a land of immense strategic importance, bridging two continents and facing a third. To the Jewish people, moreover, it is once again becoming its national home.

It might reasonably have been expected that the history of a country on which so much attention has been centred, should be thoroughly familiar to the public at large. This, surprisingly enough, is not the case. Vast as the literature on the subject is, there appears to be no work of general appeal which presents the story of the Holy Land in a manner scientifically accurate and, at the same time, vivid and graphic in form.

To fill this gap is the principal aim of this atlas. The method employed is based on a carefully planned design and on the extensive use of animated maps. It differs fundamentally from the ordinary historical atlas in that it is not intended to supply merely the geographical background of any particular period, but to demonstrate by the graphical method the process of historical events in their organic evolution, the whole epoch being visualized as a unity. In order to determine the structure of this unity as well as the proportions and form of the parts comprising it, the whole story of the Old Testament, to which this work is devoted, has been subdivided into sections, each covering a period dominated by one central event or by some specific feature. The allotment of space to each map or group of maps in the atlas has been based upon the degree of importance of the historic facts represented on them.

The topographical details, which have been included, vary in accordance with the historical changes in each period represented. Our chief object, however, was to emphasize the "dynamic" features of each map, i.e., the historic events, as opposed to the usual "static" type of historical atlas in which attention is drawn primarily to topographical details. We have accordingly thought fit to reduce the size of the letters of the place-names and thus give greater prominence by graphical means to the representation of the events depicted. In view of the nature of the subject and of the sources on which this work is so largely based, place-names are given in Hebrew as well as in English.

We have felt that, however lucid the most graphical of maps may be, an accompanying explanatory text is necessary to show the full import of each historical event, as well as its organic connection with those preceding and following. The text supplementing each of the maps records in brief the course of events indicated thereon. In addition, a general description of the main trend of development has been provided for every section, each of which covers from about fifty up to a hundred years. This text comprises, in effect, a short history of Biblical times — reduced to its essentials.

The present work deals with the early history of Palestine as related in the Bible, covering a period of approximately a millenium and a half. During this period the Israelites were the ruling element in the country, while round about them the great powers — Egypt and Assyria, Babylonia and Persia — struggled for world domination, each playing its part in the destinies of the country. The era which followed, during which the Hellenistic States and, later on, the Roman Empire left their stamp upon the Holy Land, is outside the scope of the Biblical period and has therefore been reserved for another volume, at present in preparation.

The editor is indebted for the initiation of his work on this atlas to an idea originating with Dr. F. A. Theilhaber, who had planned a popular atlas of Jewish History, with particular reference to the wanderings of the Jews in the Diaspora. Out of his preparatory work a historiographical plan has been gradually evolved; its first realization is this atlas.

The historical and topographical contents of the atlas were prepared by B. Maisler, Ph. D., to whom we are much indebted for his devoted collaboration. To Miss Nehama Schur, Ph. D., we are extremely grateful for the painstaking interest with which she assisted in the planning and editing of this work. The graphical execution was shared by Mr. G. Plotkin, who drew the maps, Mr. F. Kraus, who made the vignettes, and Mr. H. Hirszenberg, who designed the cover. We take this opportunity likewise of thanking Mr. M. Avi-Yonah and Mr. S. Yeivin for their advice and suggestions with regard to various details.

Although we are fully aware of the many technical defects in our work, due in the main to war-time conditions, we believe that this atlas represents an achievement which speaks well for the technical resources and standards of this country.

It is hoped that this publication will meet with no less interest on the part of the public than the Hebrew edition which appeared some time ago.

DR. J. SZAPIRO

PREFACE

The present work is intended to cover the history of Israel in its homeland from the Age of the Patriarchs to the conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great, i.e., from approximately 2000 to 333 B.C.

Our sources for the history of this long period are:

First and foremost, the Bible.

Next, the cuneiform texts of the Babylonians, Assyrians and other peoples of the Ancient East; the hieroglyphic, hieratic and demotic texts of the Egyptians; the Canaanite, Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions; Greek historical literature, etc.

Thirdly, the archaeological material discovered in the course of the numerous excavations in Palestine and the other Bible lands.

The Bible is a unique and invaluable source for the whole period. The records of the Ancient Near East supply the general background for the civilisation of the age; they also help to fill in many details and to establish various chronological data in the history of Palestine and Israel. Archaeological research has supplied us with a vivid picture of the varying economic, social and cultural conditions at the various stages of our story; it also serves as the basis of the historical topography of the period.

On the basis of material drawn from these (and other) sources a more or less organic picture may be drawn up of the life of Israel in Palestine,and of the events which had such a momentous influence on its history, past and present. There may occasionally be some difficulty, of course, in reconciling the Biblical evidence with that of the other sources, but the main chain of events and the historical evolution may now be assumed as firmly established.

The topographical framework of the atlas, including the identification of the historical sites, is based upon the important results reached in our own generation, and especially since the last war. Special mention should be made of the work of Père F.-M. Abel (Géographie de la Palestine, I-II, 1933-1938), W.F. Albright, A. Alt, N. Glueck (Explorations in Eastern Palestine, I-III, 1934-1939).

The identifications in general may be divided into two classes: Those that are certain or where the evidence is sufficient to establish them with definite probability; and those that, although necessary for the completion of the historical and geographical picture as a whole, are only probable or still disputed. The latter have been marked in the index with one or more queries, according to the degree of probability in their identification. Although I have proposed solutions in this atlas for the many difficult historical and topographical problems involved, lack of space has prevented me from elaborating the data on which my conclusions are based.

It is my pleasant duty to thank all those who have assisted me in my work: Dr. Szapiro who was responsible for the arrangement and editing, Dr. N. Schur, who read the manuscript and drew my attention to many doubtful points; Mr. M. Avi-Yonah, Dr. I. Ben-Dor, Dr. M. Naor and Mr. S. Yeivin for their helpful remarks. All these have aided greatly in the completion and improvement of the present volume.

Jerusalem, 1942.

DR. BENJAMIN MAISLER

CONTENTS

B. C.

THE DESERT AND THE SOWN 2000—1500
1. The wanderings of the Patriarchs

FROM EGYPT TO THE PROMISED LAND 1300—1250
2. The Exodus from Egypt
3. The borders of the Land of Canaan

THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN 1250—1200
4. The wars of Moses and Joshua

CANAAN SETTLED 1200—1025
5. Where the Judges ruled
6. The borders of the Twelve Tribes

THE INHERITANCE DEFENDED 1200—1100
7. Deborah and the defeat of the Canaanites in the North
8. Gideon and the Repulse of the Midianite marauders
9. Jephthah and the victory over the Ammonites

UNDER THE PHILISTINE YOKE 1100—1025
10. Samson and the migration of the tribe of Dan
11. The defeat at Aphek

B. C.

THE WARS OF LIBERATION AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE MONARCHY * SAUL 1025—1010
12. The wars of Saul
13. Victory at Michmash
14. Defeat at Gilboa

THE GREAT DAYS OF THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL * DAVID AND SOLOMON 1010—930
15. The conquests of David and the kingdom of Solomon

ISRAEL FLOURISHING UNDER SOLOMON 970—930
16. The organisation of the state in the days of Solomon
17. The economic life of the country

DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM AND RISE OF ARAM 930—849
18. Division and internecine warfare
19. Alliance of Israel and Judah and war upon the neighbours

DISTRESS AND TRANSIENT GLORY 849—744
20. Decline and invasion by neighbouring nations
21. Israel and Judah regain their strength

B. C.

ISRAEL CRUSHED BY ASSYRIA 744—701
22. Samaria falls — Israel ruined
23. Sennacherib's campaign against Judah

ISRAEL FALLS — JUDAH STRUGGLES AND SURVIVES 732—597
24. The exile of the Ten Tribes and the settlement of Gentiles in their places
25. Judah in the conflict of Assyria and Egypt with Babylonia

BABYLON IN ITS MIGHT * THE DESTRUCTION AND EXILE OF JUDAH 597—538
26. The campaign of Nebuchadnezzar and the destruction of Jerusalem
27. The Babylonian captivity

THE RISE OF PERSIA * JUDAH REVIVES AS A NATION 538—458
28. The Empire of Persia, the Diaspora and the return
29. The "remnant that was left" and the beginning of the return to Zion

JUDAH UNDER PERSIAN RULE 458—333
30. Growth and expansion — From the days of Ezra and Nehemiah to the conquest by Alexander the Great

EXPLANATION OF THE PRINCIPAL GRAPHICAL SIGNS

Red Markings: Israelites **Blue Markings:** Gentiles

THE HEBREW ALPHABET

The letters enclosed in brackets ( ) represent the scientific transliteration, which differs somewhat from that of the Authorised Version of the Old Testament.

ʾ (ʾa, ʾe etc.) glottal stop	b	g	d	h	w	z	h(ḥ)	t(ṭ)	y	ch(k)	l	m	n	s	ʿ (ʿa, ʿe, etc.) guttural stop	p, ph	z(ṣ)	k(q)	r	sh, s(ś)	t, th
א	ב	נ	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ,ך	ל	מ,ם	נ,ן	ס	ע	פ,ף	צ,ץ	ק	ר	שׁ,שׂ	ת
א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ,ך	ל	מ,ם	נ,ן	ס	ע	פ,ף	צ,ץ	ק	ר	שׁ,שׂ	ת
Aleph	Beth	Gimel	Daleth	He	Waw	Zayin	Heth	Teth	Yod	Kaph	Lamed	Mem	Nun	Sam ekh	Ayin	Pe	Sade	Qoph	Resh	Shin, Sin	Taw

THE DESERT AND THE SOWN 2000--1500 B.C.

THE fruitful area known as the Fertile Crescent runs north from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea. Sweeping round the great Syro-Arabian desert it takes in the basin of the twin rivers Euphrates and Tigris and the Mediterranean coastlands — Palestine, at its south-western end, serving from the dawn of history as a bridge between the great cultural centres of Mesopotamia and those of the Valley of the Nile. In times of peace as in times of war this crescent was invaded and occupied by wandering peoples from all directions. Successive waves of Semitic nomads from the Syro-Arabian desert swept over the fertile lands and ultimately came to possess them. ¶ In the third millenium B.C. the powerful Sumerian states in southernmost Mesopotamia succumbed to the invading Semites. At the close of the twenty-fifth century B.C. the Semitic ruler Sargon the Great founded the Empire of Akkad and extended his sway over the "Four Quarters of the World", including "the Land of the Amorites", which is Syria and Palestine. ¶ These Amorites were a western branch of the great Semitic family; they were at that period the basic stock in the population west of the Euphrates. From time to time they overflowed into the lands east of the river. Settling wide stretches of territory, they adopted Akkadian culture, manners and language. ¶ At the beginning of the second millenium B.C. they established a number of kingdoms in Mesopotamia. Of these the most important was the Kingdom of Babylon (c. 1900—1600 B.C.) which flourished both culturally and economically at the time of the great legislator Hammurabi (c. 1800). It was then that the culture of Babylon became dominant throughout Western Asia and that Akkadian was adopted as the medium of diplomatic and commercial intercourse. ¶ The beginnings of the Babylonian Kingdom coincided with the palmy days of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt (c. 2000—1700 B.C.), and the political and economic influence of Egypt in Canaan, which had always been considerable, now reached its peak. ¶ During the eighteenth century certain northern non-Semitic peoples, mostly Hurrians, expanded from their homelands south of the Caucasus into Syria and Mesopotamia. This in turn led to the movement of numerous Semitic tribes. Hosts of the newcomers, known collectively as the Hyksos, conquered the Nile Valley (c. 1720 B.C.) and established a loosely organised empire, which also included Palestine. The centre of this Empire was established at Tanis. The Hyksos conquests were followed by the foundation of two non-Semitic kingdoms in Western Asia; that of the Hittites in Asia Minor (c. 1680) and that of the Kassites in Babylon (c. 1600). ¶ It was at this period that the Bnei Eber or Hebrews began to emerge as a distinct entity among the tribes which had followed the Hyksos wave. They wandered through the desert and the sown, passing from country to country and living the lives of nomad shepherds. ¶

1. THE WANDERINGS OF THE PATRIARCHS. c. 1800—1600

AMONG the shepherd tribes, descendants of Shem and Eber, who wandered through Mesopotamia and Canaan, there was one group of families which traced its descent back to Abraham the Hebrew. They had a tradition that the Lord had led their forefather Abraham forth from Ur of the Chaldees to Haran, and from Haran to Canaan. "Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time... And I took your father Abraham ... and led him throughout all the land of Canaan, and multiplied his seed"[1]. "And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee ... all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession"[2]. "And Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran; and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan"[3]. ▪ ABRAHAM wandered in the neighbourhood of Shechem, Bethel, Hebron and Beersheba, erected altars "and called upon the name of the Lord"[4]. These places remained sacred for his descendants after him. "And Abram journeyed, going on still toward the south"[5], and during a period of scarcity he went down to Egypt, "for the famine was grievous in the land"[6]. Upon his return he sojourned again in the Negeb, the dry lands in the south of Canaan — and he "was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold"[7], and a large household dwelt in his tents. When he learnt that Chedorlaomer king of Elam and his allies had made a military expedition to Transjordan and the Arabah and had taken his nephew Lot captive, "he armed his trained servants, born in his own house... and pursued them unto Hobah, which is on the left hand (to the north) of Damascus" and brought back all that had been taken[8]. ▪ THE family of Abraham was not absorbed among the other peoples and tribes of Canaan, nor did they forget their kinsfolk who had remained in Haran. Isaac and his son Jacob took wives from among the daughters of their kin in Haran. It was Jacob who went to Haran and returned years later to the land of his fathers with his wives and children, his cattle and all the property he had acquired. ▪ AS far back as the days of Abraham several families had separated themselves from the household of the patriarch in Canaan and had journeyed south and east. These became the nomadic tribes known as the sons of Ishmael and the sons of Qetura. Some generations later the sons of Esau or Edom migrated to southernmost Transjordan "for their riches (i.e. those of Esau and Jacob) were more than that they might dwell together; and the land ... could not bear them because of their cattle"[9]. ▪ TRADITIONS regarding Jacob existed in a number of places in the Land of Canaan, particularly at Bethel and Penuel, the names of which are bound up with the beginnings of Israel; "And [the angel] said: Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel"[10]. ▪ THE period of the Patriarchs came to an end with the departure of Jacob and his sons to Egypt: "And [he] sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous"[11].

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[1] Jos.24, *2-3*; [2] Gen.17, *8*; [3] ib.12, *5*; [4] ib.*8*; [5] ib.*9*; [6] ib.*10*; [7] ib.13, *2*; [8] ib.14, *14-16*; [9] ib.36, 7; [10] ib.32, *28*; [11] Deut.26, *5*.

ארץ החתים
LAND OF THE HITTITES
ARARAT
NAHARAIM
ASSYRIA
SINEAR
LAND OF KEDEM
DESERT
BABYLONIA
ELAM
LOWER SEA
GREAT SEA
(UPPER SEA)
ELISHAH
CYPRUS
כרכמיש Carchemish
חרן Haran
נינוה Nineveh
אשור Ashur
ארפחה Arrapkha
חתי
חמת Hamath
קטנה Qatna
קדש Kadesh
אוגרית Ugarit
ארוד Arvad
גבל Byblos
צידון Zidon
צור Tyre
רחשק Damascus
מאי Mari
ענה Anah
אשנונה Eshnunna
בבל Babylon
שושן Susa
לרסה Larsa
אור Ur
רנש Lagash
אשקלון Ashkelon
עזה Gaza
שכם Shechem
בית אל Beth El
שלם Salem
קריתים Kiriathaim
חצצון תמר Hazazon Tamar
באר שבע Beersheba
צען Tanis
מצרים Mitzraim
מף Memphis
און On
אלפארן El Paran
Chedorlaomer king of Elam and his allies
כדרלעמר מלך עילם ובני בריתו
Abram אברם
Jacob יעקב
Israel and his sons
ישראל ובניו
WILDERNESS OF PARAN
EGYPT

...Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground...
THE GREAT SEA
SEA OF EGYPT
CANAAN
EGYPT
Rameses
Succoth
Etham
Pi-hahiroth
Migdol
Baal-zephon
Marah
Elim
Rephidim
Sinai
Kadesh Barnea
Hormah
Mount Hor
Zalmonah
Punon
Oboth
Iye Abarim
Dibon
Moab
Arad
Hebron
Jerusalem
Gaza
Ashdod
Ashkelon
Ekron
Jericho
Jordan
Ai
Bethel
Shechem
Shiloh
Gilgal
Ai
Ebal
Gerizim
Jabbok
Rabbath Ammon
Heshbon
Medeba
Kir Moab
Zered
Arnon
Tophel
Zemmaran
Succoth
Penuel
Mahanaim
Ramoth Gilead
Gilead
Bashan
Ashtaroth
Edrei
Hermon
Dan
Kedesh
Hazor
Megiddo
Taanach
Shechem
Tirzah
Samaria
Dothan
Jezreel
Beth Shean
Gilboa
Jordan
Jericho
Ai
Bethel
Gilgal
Shiloh
Ebal
Gerizim

FROM EGYPT TO THE PROMISED LAND

1300--1250 B.C.

THE downfall of the Hyksos empire (1550) saw the rise of the "New Kingdom" in Egypt. In 1468 Tuthmosis III defeated a coalition of Canaanite princes at Megiddo; he conquered Canaan and all Syria to the Euphrates. From that time onwards for close on three hundred years the Land of Canaan remained under nominal Egyptian suzerainty. Actually, however, the power of Egypt had begun to crumble by the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C. By then Egypt was subject to external pressure from the Hittite empire on the north and from Hebrew tribes (known in cuneiform texts as the Habirû) from the East. In addition it suffered from continual splits and disturbances from within. ¶

Two powerful Egyptian rulers, Seti I (1319—1301) and Rameses II (1301—1235), attempted to stem the tide. After long years of wars with the Hittites and rebellions in Canaan a compromise treaty was arrived at between Egypt and the Hittites (1280). Egypt gave up its claim to all lands beyond the Orontes, but kept its nominal overlordship over Canaan. Yet even Rameses II could not re-establish the might of Egypt. Its position in Canaan was already weak in his times and became even weaker afterwards. Fresh incursions into the Egyptian possessions in Canaan occurred, which emptied the Pharaonic domination of all real content. The new invaders were the Israelites and kindred Hebrew tribes from the desert and the "Sea-Peoples" from the Aegean Sea. ¶ It is into this framework that the tradition of the servitude of the Israelites and of their deliverance through Moses must be fitted. The Israelites "built for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pithom and Raamses" (Exodus, i, 11), "and the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigour" (ibid., 13). Moses brought about the movement of liberation which ended in the Exodus. This event, which has become the central fact of Israelite historical and religious tradition, occurred round about 1290 B.C. ¶ For many years the Israelites wandered in the desert till they reached the eastern bank of the Jordan. In the course of their wanderings they were joined by a number of tribes of kindred stock. They dragged themselves wearily through the barren wilderness, their thoughts fixed on the "land flowing with milk and honey" which had been promised to their forefathers. ¶

The tradition of the Exodus from Egypt, of the wanderings in the desert and of the Law given upon Mount Sinai, formed the unique experience which set its seal on Israel throughout the ages. ¶

THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN 1250--1200 B.C.

THE Israelites reached the borders of the Promised Land during the first half of the Thirteenth Century, united by the old Hebrew traditions and by the new faith given to them by Moses "the Man of God". While still east of the Jordan they came into contact with peoples of the same Hebrew stock, Edom, Moab and Ammon, who had achieved a settled and political life a few generations earlier. The Israelites made an attempt to pass peacefully through these territories, but were not allowed to do so and had to make a detour east of Edom and Moab. While they were following the eastern frontier of Moab, they came into conflict with the Amorite kingdoms in Gilead and the Bashan. The Israelites were victorious and the tribes of Reuben, Gad and some clans of the tribe of Manasseh settled in those wide spaces. During the following generations these semi-nomads spread to the north and the east as far as Mount Hermon and the River Euphrates ¶ Encouraged by this success the Israelites prepared to cross the Jordan. At that time the Land of Canaan was divided into a large number of small states, and each city was a "Kingdom" by itself. The princes of these petty states quarelled continuously with one another; dissension and dispute were ripe everywhere. The hill country was sparsely populated and bore no foreign yoke — it was outside Pharaoh's reach. The Egyptians dominated, however, the coastal plain and the main roads. ¶ After the death of Moses, Joshua the son of Nun became the leader of the host. He brought the tribes over the Jordan and conquered the Plain of Jericho and the mountains adjoining it. With the fall of the few fortified cities of this region the central mountain massif was open to Israelite settlement. The confederation of Hivite cities (Gibeon and its allies) made peace with Joshua. Gibeon was thereupon attacked by a coalition of the Amorite Kings from the south of the country. These too were defeated by Joshua. Following this victory the Israelites conquered most of the cities in the mountains of southern Canaan and rapidly became the most powerful factor in the country. In the course of time their conquests extended south to the Negeb and north to Upper Galilee. There they broke the power of the local rulers. ¶ Archaeological research has shown that during the thirteenth century several royal cities and inhabited sites of the mountain country were destroyed and that their inhabitants gave way to newcomers. In the stele of the Pharaoh Menephthes (1235—1227) the name of Israel is mentioned together with those of various other cities and nations in the Egyptian Empire against whom that Pharaoh had sent a punitive expedition. ¶ At the close of the thirteenth century the conflict was still proceeding between the two hostile forces which shared the country. On the one side were the Canaanites, dwelling mostly in the valleys; they possessed a certain amount of technical superiority over their adversaries, such as fortified cities and war-chariots. Against them were the Israelites, who in the main occupied the mountains. They were conscious of the Hebrew traditions from their nomadic period and of the religious inspiration derived from Mount Sinai. Foreign settlements could still be found here and there in Israelite territory. There was a line of fortified towns from Jerusalem to Gezer; the important cities in the Jezreel and Jordan valleys remained also under the control of the Canaanites. ¶

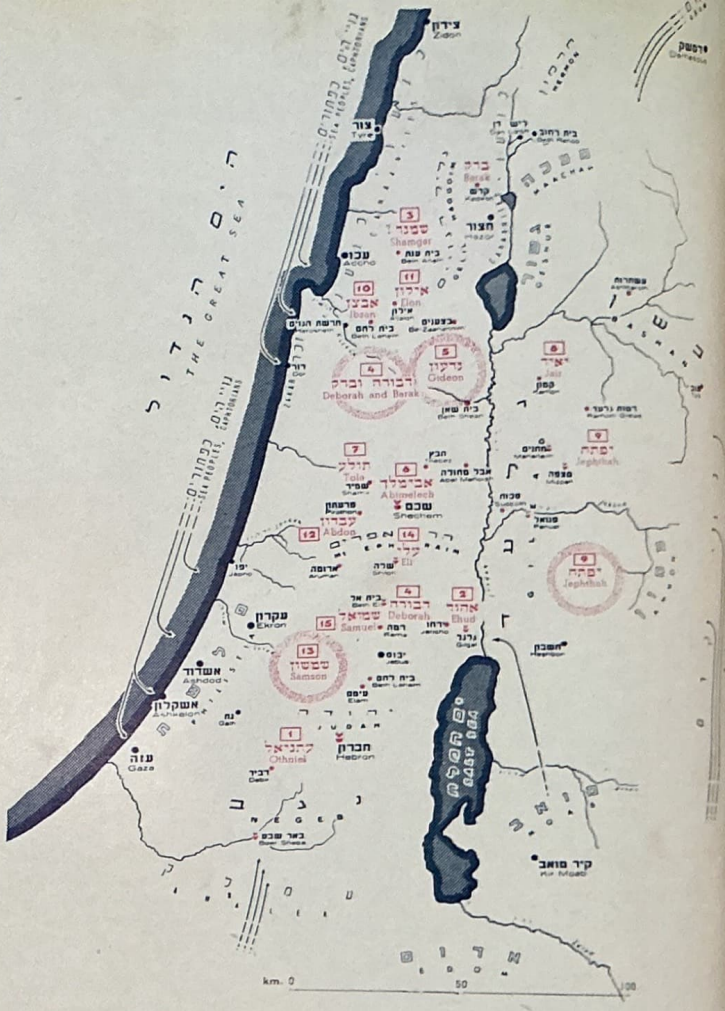
The inset design shows:
A SEMITIC WARRIOR WITH A CANAANITE CASTLE
(combined from Egyptian bas-reliefs and pictures).

4. THE WARS OF MOSES AND JOSHUA
1250 (?) — 1230 (?)

FROM Ije Abarim the Children of Israel journeyed northwards and passed through the wilderness of Moab. Some of them turned to Dibon and the Abarim Mountains before Nebo, and reached the Jordan Valley; "and they pitched by Jordan, from Beth Hajeshimoth even to Abel Shittim"[1]. But most of the people followed the ancient road leading northwards along the eastern border of Moab to the Kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites. "And Sihon would not suffer Israel to pass through his border ... and Israel smote him with the edge of the sword, and possessed his land from Arnon unto Jabbok, even unto the children of Ammon ... and Israel dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites"[2]. And they turned and went up by the way of Bashan: and Og the king of Bashan went out against them ... to the battle at Edrei ... So they smote him ... and they possessed his land"[3]. "And the children of Machir the son of Manasseh went to Gilead, and took it ... and Jair the son of Manasseh went and took the small towns thereof ..., and Nobah went and took Kenath"[4]. The chief camp of the Israelites was "in the plains of Moab on this side Jordan by Jericho"[5]. "And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo", and died there[6]. ▪ THE tribes of Israel, led by Joshua son of Nun, crossed the Jordan. Their fear fell upon the Canaanite kings in the west of the country. Jericho was conquered and burnt[7]. From there they went up to Ai[8]. "Then Joshua built an altar unto the Lord God of Israel in Mount Ebal"[9]. Gibeon and the other Hivite cities made a covenant with Joshua and submitted to him[10]. The Amorite kings — of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish and Eglon — went forth to war against Gibeon. "And [Joshua] slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon"[11] and captured all their cities (except Jerusalem). "So Joshua smote all the country of the hills, and of the Negeb, and of the Shephelah... and all their kings"[12]. ▪ THE Canaanite kings of Galilee met to do battle with Israel, but the Israelites smote them near the waters of Merom and captured Hazor, "for Hazor beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms"[13]. "And ... Joshua the son of Nun ... died ... And they buried him in the border of his inheritance at Timnath Serah, which is in Mount Ephraim"[14].

[1] Num. 33, *45-49*; [2] ib. 21, *23-31*; [3] ib. *33-35*; [4] ib. 32, *39-42*; [5] ib. 22, *1*; [6] Deut. 34, *1-5*; [7] Jos 6, *24*; [8] ib. 8; [9] ib. 8, *30*; [10] ib. 9; [11] ib. 10, *10*; [12] ib *40*; [13] ib. 11, *10*; [14] ib. 24, *29-30*.

6. WHERE THE JUDGES RULED 1200 — 1050



5. THE BORDERS OF THE TWELVE TRIBES

"AND these are the countries which the children of Israel inherited in the land of Canaan, which Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel, distributed for inheritance to them. By lot was their inheritance ... for the nine tribes, and for the half tribe"[1], for the tribes of Reuben, Gad and half the tribe of Manasseh had received their inheritance on the eastern side of the Jordan[2], since they had much livestock and found there grazing land for their flocks. "And when Joshua had let the people go, the children of Israel went every man unto his inheritance to possess the land"[3]. But the conquest was not complete, and there remained "yet very much to be possessed"[4]. "Only unto the tribe of Levi he gave none inheritance"[5], "save cities to dwell in, with their suburbs for their cattle and for their substance"[6]. Six of their cities were deemed as cities of refuge, three to the west and three to the east of the Jordan[7]. ■ BEFORE the establishment of the monarchy, Shiloh was the chief religious centre of all the tribes: "And the whole congregation ... of Israel assembled together at Shiloh, and set up the tabernacle"[8].

[1] Jos.14, *1-2*; [2] Num.34, *14-15*; [3] Jud.2, *6*; [4] Jos.13, *1*; [5] ib.*14*; [6] ib.14, *4*; [7] ib. 20; [8] ib.18, *1*.

CANAAN SETTLED

1200--1025 B.C.

WITHIN a few generations the Israelites had spread over all parts of the country on both sides of the Jordan. Gradually they adopted the life of peasants and became tillers of the soil "every man under his vine and his fig tree". The two tribes and half a tribe which had occupied Transjordan extended east and north; "but the Geshurites and the Maachathites dwell among the Israelites" (Joshua, xiii, 13). In the west there were three main areas of Israelite settlement: a) the mountains of Galilee (Asher, Naphtali, Issachar and Zebulon); b) the central mountain massif (the house of Joseph, Benjamin and Dan); and c) the mountains of Judah and the Negeb (Judah, Simeon and the clans who became part of the tribe of Judah: Caleb, Kenaz, the Kenites and others). ¶ The Israelites rebuilt most of the cities which they had destroyed in the course of the conquest; they also founded new towns and villages. The new settlements were most numerous in such parts of Ephraim and Gilead as were then mostly virgin soil. In the central mountain massif Ephraim and Manasseh cleared the woodlands and made the land ready for settlement (Joshua, xvii, 15-18). Often, however, the peoples of Canaan succeeded in preventing the Israelites from extending their possessions. ¶ The Israelites did not advance rapidly or easily towards the sea, nor into the Jezreel and Jordan valleys. Instead "when Israel was strong . . . they put the Canaanites to tribute, and did not utterly drive them out" (Judges, i, 28). "But the Asherites dwelt among the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land: for they did not drive them out" (ibid., 32). ¶ In other districts, however, matters stood differently; "the Canaanites dwelt among them" (ibid., 30). While the process of settlement lasted (it corresponded roughly to the Age of the Judges) there was continual friction between the Israelites and the Canaanites still resident in the country. The Israelites not only fought their neighbours, but also had to face many invasions and incursions of nomads from the Syrian desert and the Sinai peninsula as well as descents of the "Sea Peoples" from their ships on the sea. ¶ In these days the national and religious spirit was still weak. Every Israelite gave his first allegiance to his tribe and his clan. Nevertheless the tribes worshipped at holy places which were common to all of them and which were connected with historical memories of the nation. In time of emergency sections of tribes and sometimes whole tribes or groups of tribes would unite under the orders of a judge or leader. The judge was commander-in-chief, ruler and law-giver. If his military mission was successful, he would retain great authority in times of peace. The ephemeral judgeships foreshadowed the establishment of a united monarchy. ¶

THE INHERITANCE DEFENDED 1200--1100 B.C.

IN the course of the twelfth century the Israelites spread throughout the land "from Dan to Beersheba". This dispersion led to the weakening of the old bonds of union. Each tribe had to face its foes alone. Even worse would happen now and then: an incident would flare up between one tribe and another or between groups of tribes, and the people were consumed in fratricidal wars. Meanwhile powerful external foes were attacking the Israelites. The Moabites and the Ammonites oppressed the tribes east of the Jordan, and sometimes even crossed the river "to fight also against Judah and against Benjamin, and against the house of Ephraim" (Judges, x, 9). Those were the times of need when a "judge and saviour" would arise in Israel. He would rouse his tribe or a number of tribes to defend themselves and would lead them to victory. Such men were Ehud the son of Gera, a Benjamite, who delivered his people from the hands of Moab (Judges, iii) and such was Jephthah the Gileadite who smote the Ammonites (ibid., xi). ¶ In the north of the country the coalition of the Canaanite Kings was revived. It terrorized the Israelite country-side till the roads became unsafe (ibid., v, 6-7). Then arose Deborah, the prophetess of Mount Ephraim; together with Barak, son of Abinoam, out of Kedesh in the tribe Naphtali, she roused the tribes of the north and the centre against their oppressors. Their victory over the league of the northern kings assured the future of Israelite settlement in Galilee and the Valley of Jezreel. ¶ A generation or two later the hosts of Midian emerged from the desert wilderness. Year after year they spoiled the land till at last the people found a leader in Gideon of Ophrah, in the tribe of Manasseh. He smote the spoilers in the Valley of Jezreel, scattering and pursuing them into the heart of the wilderness. At this time there were many Israelites who wished for a monarchy, for the defects of the tribal system had become obvious. The times required a concentration of authority which would be strong and permanent. Gideon, however, did not wish for the crown. The attempt made by his son Abimelech to make himself king ended in failure. ¶ Yet despite external pressure and internal disputes the people multiplied and grew stronger. It was at this period that a new factor appeared on the scene and changed the situation entirely. ¶

7. **DEBORAH AND THE DEFEAT OF THE CANAANITES IN THE NORTH** 1200 (?)

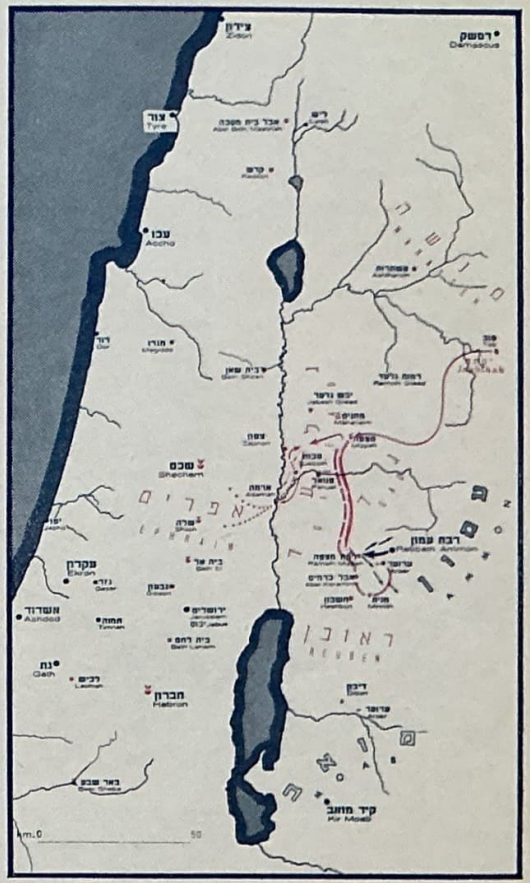
JABIN king of Hazor, and Sisera of Harosheth oppressed Israel grievously [1], until the time of Deborah, who arose, "a mother in Israel" [2]. Deborah aroused Barak of Kadesh Naphtali; "and Barak called Zebulon and Naphtali, (the tribes of the north) ... and Deborah went up with him" [3], followed by volunteers from Ephraim and Benjamin, Machir and Issachar, the central tribes; and they camped at Tabor. "And Sisera gathered together all his chariots... and all the people ... unto the river of Kishon" [4]. "The kings came and fought, then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo" [5]. "So Barak went down from Mount Tabor, and ten thousand men after him. And the Lord discomfited Sisera, and all his chariots, and all his host, with the edge of the sword before Barak" [6].

[1] Jud.4, *2*; [2] ib.*5*, 7; [3] ib.4, *10*; [4] ib.*13*; [5] ib.5, *19*; [6] ib.4, *14-15*.

8. **GIDEON AND THE REPULSE OF THE MIDIANITE MARAUDERS** 1150 (?)

"AND the hand of Midian prevailed against Israel ... so it was, when Israel had sown, that the Midianites came up ... and the children of the east (Bene Kedem) ... destroyed the increase of the earth ... and left no sustenance for Israel" [1]. "And [they] went over, and pitched in the valley of Jezreel" and Gideon "blew a trumpet ... and he sent messengers throughout all Manasseh ... and he sent messengers unto Asher, and unto Zebulon, and unto Naphtali; and they came up to meet them" [2]. "Then ... Gideon, and all the people that were with him, rose up early, and pitched beside the well of Harod: so that the host of the Midianites were on the north side of them, by the hill of Moreh, in the valley" [3]. Gideon attacked the camp of Midian by night "and all the host ran, and cried, and fled" [4]. "And the men of Israel gathered themselves together out of Naphtali, and out of Asher, and out of all Manasseh, and pursued after the Midianites ... Then all the men of Ephraim gathered themselves together, and took the waters unto Beth Barah and Jordan" [5]. "And Gideon went up by the way of them that dwelt in tents ... and smote the host" [6].

[1] Jud.6, *2-4*; [2] ib. *33-35*; [3] ib.7, *1*; [4] ib. *21*; [5] ib. *23*; *24*; [6] ib.8, *11*.



9. **JEPHTHAH AND THE VICTORY OVER THE AMMONITES** 1100 (?)

"AND it came to pass in process of time, that the children of Ammon made war against Israel ... The elders of Gilead went to fetch Jephthah out of the land of Tob ... and the people made him head and captain over them ... in Mizpeh" [1]. "So Jephthah passed over unto the children of Ammon to fight against them ... and he smote them from Aroer, even till thou come to Minnith ... unto Abel Keramim, with a very great slaughter" [2]. ■ THE men of Ephraim who envied him his victory crossed the Jordan and taunted him, asking: "Wherefore passedst thou over to fight against the children of Ammon, and didst not call us?... Then Jephthah gathered together all the men of Gilead, and fought with Ephraim: and the men of Gilead smote Ephraim" [3].

[1] Jud.11, *4*; *5*; *11*; [2] ib.*32*; *33*; [3] ib.12, *1*; *4*.

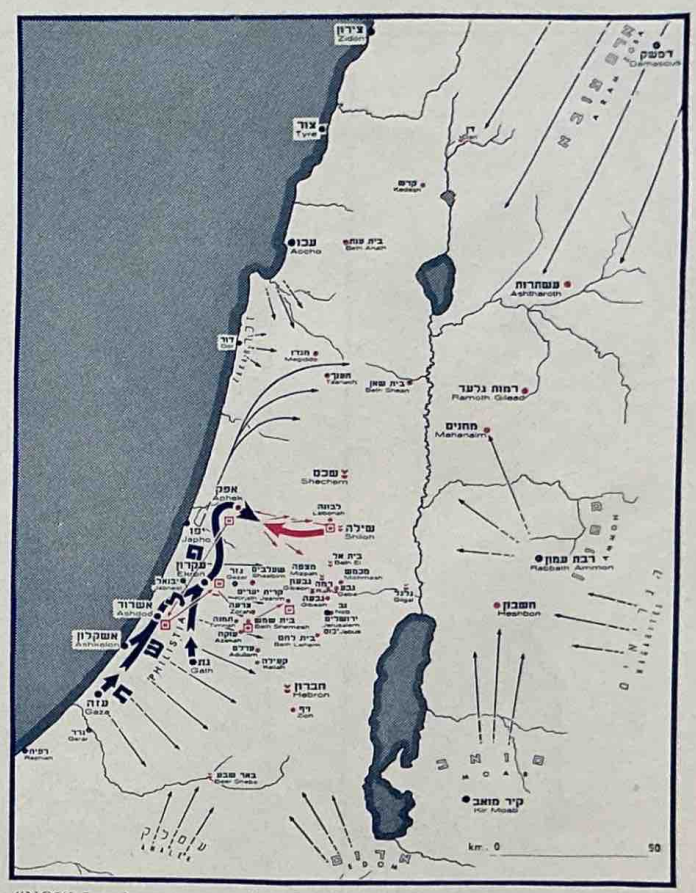
10. SAMSON AND THE MIGRATION OF THE TRIBE OF DAN 1075 (?)

"AT that time the Philistines had dominion over Israel"[1]. Samson son of Manoah of the tribe of Dan began "to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines"[2]. "And the Spirit of the Lord began to move him ... in the camp of Dan between Zorah and Eshtaol"[3]. Samson came into conflict with the Philistines of Timnah and Ashkelon. When they pursued him into Judah, he dealt them a grievous blow near Etam. "And he judged Israel in the days of the Philistines twenty years"[4]. Finally he fell into their hands at the valley of Sorek, and was brought a captive to Gaza. His heroic death remained engraved in the memory of the people: "So the dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life"[5]. ■ AND in those days "there went ... the Danites, out of Zorah and out of Eshtaol, six hundred men appointed with weapons of war"[6]. "And [they] came unto Laish... and burnt the city... And they built a city, and dwelt therein. And they called the name of the city Dan, after the name of Dan their father"[7].

[1] Jud.14, *4*; [2] ib.13, *5*; [3] ib. *25*; [4] ib.15, *20*; [5] ib.16, *30*; [6] ib.18, *11*; [7] ib.*27-29*.

The inset design shows:
HEAD OF A PHILISTINE
(after a relief in the temple of Medinet Habu near Luxor).

11. THE DEFEAT AT APHEK 1050 (?)



"NOW Israel went out against the Philistines to battle and pitched beside Eben Ezer: and the Philistines pitched in Aphek"[1]. "So the people sent to Shiloh, that they might bring from thence the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord of Hosts"[2] ... "and Israel was smitten, and they fled every man into his tent: and there was a very great slaughter... And the Ark of God was taken"[3]. ■ "AND the Ark of the Lord was in the country of the Philistines seven months"[4]. In fear of the Lord's vengeance the Philistines returned the Ark to the borders of Judah, unto Beth Shemesh and from there it was taken up to Kirjath Jearim[5]. "And it came to pass, while the Ark abode in Kirjath Jearim, that the time was long"[6]... until King David who brought it up to Jerusalem[7]. ■ AFTER the defeat at Aphek the Philistine yoke lay heavy on the Israelites, while the Amalekites made incursions in the south, Edom raised its head, Ammon and Moab disturbed the peace of the tribes beyond the Jordan. "Then all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together, and came to Samuel unto Ramah, and said unto him: ...now make us a king to judge us"[8]... "That we also may be like all the nations; and that our king may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles"[8].

[1] 1 Sam.4, *1*; [2] ib.*4*; [3] ib.*10-11*; [4] ib.6, *1*; [5] ib.6, *12*; 7, *1*; [6] ib.7,*2*; [7] 2 Sam. 6, *12*; [8] 1 Sam.8, *4-5*; [9] ib.*20*.

UNDER THE PHILISTINE YOKE 1100--1025 B.C.

THE Philistine descent upon Canaan had its source in the wanderings of the "Sea Peoples", who in the thirteenth century troubled Egypt and all the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. At the beginning of the twelfth century sporadic incursions changed into an overwhelming invasion. "The Northerners in their isles were disturbed . . . not one stood before their hands" (inscription of Rameses III, 1188 B.C.). The "Sea Peoples" brought ruin and destruction to the kingdom of the Hittites and to many states and cities in Syria. "Carchemish, Arvad, Elishah, they were wasted. They set up a camp in one place in Amor, they desolated his people and his land like that which is not. They came with fire prepared before them forward to Egypt" (ibid.). But this time Egypt was delivered thanks to the valour of her army and navy. The wave broke on the frontiers of Egypt, and the Philistines and their allies settled further north along the coast of Canaan. ¶ According to Biblical tradition the origin of the Philistines was in Caphthor (Crete and the isles of the Aegean Sea). When they invaded the country they settled in the Shephelah, the southern part of the coastal plain of Palestine. They established a political union, the covenant of the "Five Serenim of the Philistines," the Lords of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gath and Ekron. Cretans settled south of the Philistines, while one of the "Sea Peoples", Zakar by name, settled in Dor at the foot of the Camel range. ¶ In the eleventh century the conquering spirit was still strong in the Philistines. Their troops, bearing iron weapons, terrified Israelites and Canaanites alike. In the course of time the invaders spread eastwards and pressed hard upon the nearest Israelite tribes, Dan and Judah. The stories of Samson and of the northward trek of the Danites to the region around the sources of the Jordan are based on these events. From Dan the Philistines attacked the territory of Benjamin. As they spread through the plain of Sharon they came into conflict with the Central Israelite tribes and won a decisive victory near Aphek. Then they infiltrated into the Mountains of Ephraim; the greater part of the country submitted to them for many years. In this period of Philistine supremacy falls the activity of Samuel, who "judged Israel" in Benjamin and Ephraim for a whole generation. He strove to strengthen the spirit of the people and to unite them for a struggle with the conquerors. This period saw the beginnings of the spirit of revolt which led to liberation through the establishment of a strong and united monarchy. ¶

THE WARS OF LIBERATION AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE MONARCHY * SAUL

1025--1010 B.C.

THE end of the second millenium B.C. saw the weakening or the destruction of the powerful states to the north-east and the south-west, which for many generations had exercised a powerful influence over the land of Canaan. The empires of Egypt and Babylon declined from their greatness. The Empire of the Hittites was shattered into fragments. The power of Assyria waned after the conquests of Tiglath Pileser I (1100 B.C.). This was the time of the establishment of the Aramean kingdoms in Mesopotamia and Syria (Beth Eden, Aram Zobah). A number of Aramean tribes reached the borders of the land of Israel and began to invade northern Galilee and Transjordan. At the same time the Phoenician cities revived and flourished again. ¶ Then it was that Saul son of Kish, a Benjamite, established monarchy in Israel (about 1025 B.C.). He "took the kingdom of Israel" and delivered the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead from the Ammonites. As he grew stronger, he rose against the Philistines and broke their hold upon his people. He also smote the Amalekites who were "spoiling" the southern part of the country. All the tribes of Israel recognized him and rallied round his standard. Gibeah of Benjamin, his residence, was the capital of his kingdom; here camped his standing army. His kingdom extended over most of the Israelite territory on both banks of the Jordan, although its boundaries were as yet not stabilised. ¶ However, many remained who were opposed to "the manner of the king". These separatists, who preferred the old tribal system, included several noble families and members of the privileged class. Saul punished them severely. The king was in the end led to disapprove even of David, his son-in-law, who had earned himself a name in the Philistine wars. When Saul schemed to have him slain, David escaped and became the chief of a band of men who were in distress and discontented; they wandered in the mountains of Judah and finally fled to the Philistines. The Lord of Gath settled them in the city of Ziklag and entrusted to them the guard of his frontiers against the spoilers from the Negeb. ¶ Thus the new-born Israelite Kingdom was enfeebled from the start. The Philistines did not miss their opportunity. They went forth and marched by the highroad into the Valley of Jezreel, one of the strategically weak spots in the Land of Israel. Saul and his army suffered a disastrous defeat. ¶ Yet the Philistines lacked the strength to regain their rule over Israel, and at last returned to their homes. Ishbaal the son of Saul ruled over Israel from Mahanaim in Gilead; while the Men of Judah anointed "David king over the house of Judah" at Hebron (2 Samuel, ii, 4) and "there was long war between the house of Saul and the house of David" (ibid., iii, 1). ¶

12. THE WARS OF SAUL 1025 (?) — 1010

THE prophet Samuel anointed Saul the son of Kish as the ruler of Israel. In those days the Philistines held sway in the land, while the Ammonites oppressed the tribes beyond the Jordan and penetrated as far as the boundaries of Gilead. "Then Nahash the Ammonite came up, and encamped against Jabesh Gilead"[2] . . . "And the Spirit of God came upon Saul" and he sent messages throughout all tribes of Israel "and they came out with one consent"; and he mustered them in Bezek[3], "and they came . . . and slew the Ammonites . . . so that they which remained were scattered"[3]. "And all the people went to Gilgal; and there they made Saul king . . ."[4]. ■ "SO Saul took the kingdom over Israel . . ."[5]. Then he set out to break the yoke of the Philistines, and he smote the Philistines at Michmash, "and fought against all his enemies on every side . . . And he gathered an host, and smote the Amalekites, and delivered Israel out of the hands of them that spoiled them"[6], and destroyed their camp within their own borders. His first born son Jonathan, a warrior like himself, fought together with him: ". . . the bow of Jonathan turned not back, and the sword of Saul returned not empty"[7]. "And there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul"[8]. At the end of his reign the Philistines came up into the valley of Jezreel and fought against Israel at Mount Gilboa, where Saul and three of his sons perished.

[1] 1 Sam.11, *1*; [2] ib.*6-8*; [3] ib.*11*; [4] ib.*15*; [5] ib.14, *47*; [6] ib.*47-48*; [7] 2 Sam.1, *22*; [8] 1 Sam.14, *5*; *2*.

13. VICTORY AT MICHMASH 1020(?)

"AND Jonathan smote the garrison of the Philistines that was in Geba . . . And the people were called together after Saul to Gilgal. And the Philistines gathered themselves together to fight with Israel..."[1]. "And the spoilers came out of the camp of the Philistines in three companies . . . And the garrison of the Philistines went out to the passage of Michmash"[2]. "And Saul tarried . . . in Migron". Jonathan suddenly fell upon the Philistine garrison, "and Saul and all the people that were with him assembled themselves, and they came to the battle . . . And they smote the Philistines that day from Michmash to Aijalon..."[3] beyond Beth Horon.

[1] 1 Sam.13, *3-5*; [2] ib.*17*; *23*; [3] ib.14, *2*; *20*; *31*.

14. DEFEAT AT GILBOA 1010

THE Philistines assembled all their hosts at Aphek to set out against the Israelites who encamped in the valley of Jezreel[1]. "And the Philistines gathered themselves together, and came and pitched in Shunem: and Saul gathered all Israel together, and they pitched in Gilboa"[2]. "Now the Philistines fought against Israel: and the men of Israel fled... and fell down slain in Mount Gilboa. And the Philistines followed hard upon Saul and upon his sons; and . . . slew Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Malchi-shua, Saul's sons. And the battle went sore against Saul . . . Therefore Saul took a sword and fell upon it . . . And when the men of Israel that were on the other side of the valley, and they that were on the other side [of the] Jordan, saw that the men of Israel fled, and that Saul and his sons were dead, they forsook the cities, and fled; and the Philistines came and dwelt in them"[3].

[1] 1 Sam.29, *1*; [2] ib.28, *4*; [3] ib.31, *1-7*.

צידון
Zidon
דמשק
Damascus
צור
Tyre
עכו
Accho
בית רחוב
Beth Rehob
ים הגדול
THE GREAT SEA
PHILISTIA
עקרון
Ekron
אשדוד
Ashdod
אשקלון
Ashkelon
עזה
Gaza
נת
Gath
חברון
Hebron
שכם
Shechem
מחנים
Mahanaim
נבעת שאול
Gibeath Saul
ירושלים
Jerusalem
רבת עמון
Rabbath Ammon
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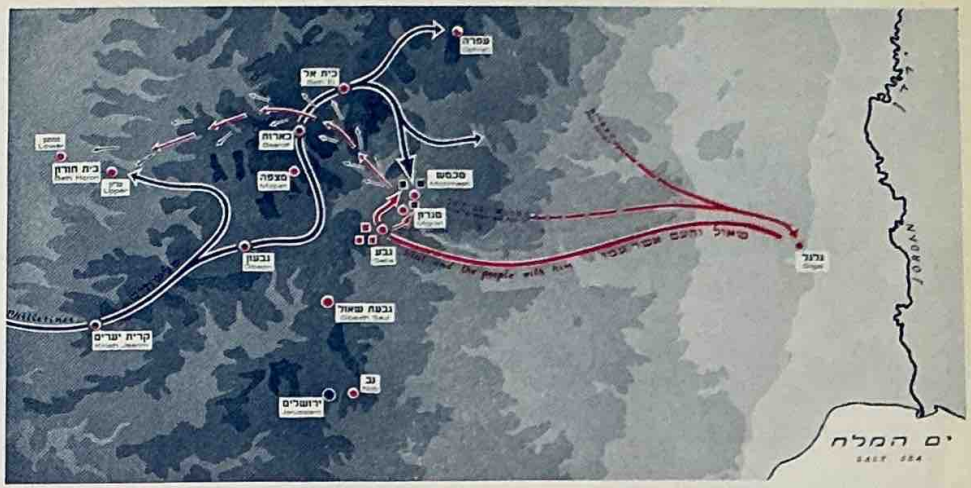
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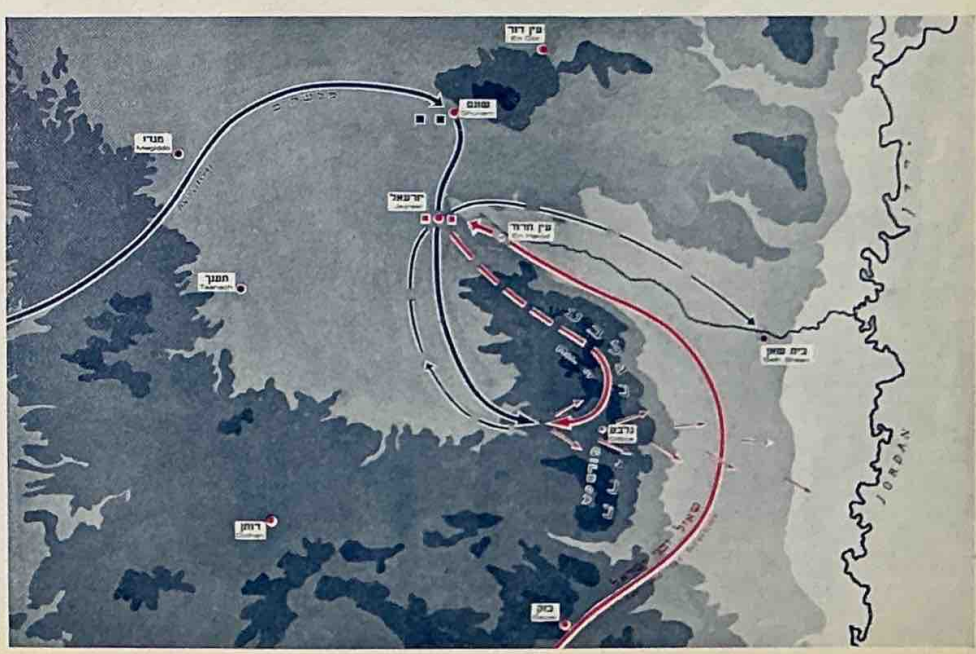
עין דור
מנדי
תענך
ירעאל
עין חרד
בית שאן
נרבע
רותן
JORDAN

15. THE CONQUESTS OF DAVID AND THE KINGDOM OF SOLOMON 1010—930

"SO all the elders of Israel came to the King to Hebron; ... and they anointed David king over Israel"[1]. The king and his men conquered Jerusalem, the town of the Jebusites; "David took the stronghold of Zion: the same is the city of David"[2]. From Jerusalem he set out on his wars: first against the country of Philistines, "and they smote the host of the Philistines from Gibeon even to Gezer"[3]; "And yet again there was war at Gath"[4]. "David smote the Philistines, and subdued them"[5] but he did not conquer their land. Then he ascended against Edom, and Abishai son of Zeruiah (one of David's warriors, and a kinsman) smote Edom in the Valley of Salt (Melah), ... and David put garrisons in Edom[6]. He reduced all the cities of Edom and reached Elath and Ezion Geber on the Red Sea. In the east he was opposed by Moab and Ammon: "And he smote Moab... and so the Moabites became David's servants"[7]. ■ THE king of Ammon sent in his distress to seek aid, and "hired the Arameans of Beth Rehob, and the Arameans of Zoba ... and of [the] king [of] Maacah ... Tob ..." chariots and horsemen, "who came and pitched before Medeba... And the children of Ammon came out, and put the battle in array before the gate of the city (Rabbath Ammon) ... Now when Joab saw that the battle was set against him before and behind, he chose out of all the choice of Israel, and put them in array against the Arameans (near Medeba): And the rest of the people he delivered unto the hand of Abishai his brother, and they set themselves in array against the children of Ammon (before their capital Rabbath Ammon). And he said, If the Arameans be too strong for me, then thou shalt help me: but if the children of Ammon be too strong for thee, then I will help thee"[8]. Joab defeated the armies of Aram, "and when the children of Ammon saw that the Arameans were fled, then fled they also before Abishai, and entered into the city"[9]. Joab then besieged the city. "And David gathered all the people together, and went to Rabbah, and fought against it, and took it"[10]. The defeat of Aram at Medeba caused Hadarezer king of Zoba to go to war against David. "And Hadarezer sent, and brought out the Arameans that were beyond the river: and they came to Helam (in the Bashan): ... And the Arameans set themselves in array against David, and fought with him. And the Arameans fled before Israel ... And when all the kings that were servants to Hadarezer saw that they were smitten before Israel, they made peace with Israel and served them"[11]. ■ "THEN David put garrisons in ... Damascus; and the Arameans became servants to David, and brought gifts"[12]. "And from Betah (i. e. Tebah), and from Berothai, cities of Hadarezer, king David took exceeding much brass"[13]. "Then Toi (king of Hamath) sent Joram his son unto King David, to salute him"[14]. David was at peace with Hiram king of Tyre. "And Hiram king of Tyre sent messengers to David, and cedar trees, and carpenters, and masons: and they built David an house"[15]. ■ "AND David reigned over all Israel: and David executed judgment and justice unto all his people"[16]. David had waged war all his life. The countries which he conquered were inherited by his son Solomon. "And Solomon reigned over all kingdoms from the river (Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt: they brought presents, and served Solomon all the days of his life"[17]. "For he had dominion over all the region on this side the river, from Tiphsah even to Azzah (Gaza), over all the kings on this side the river: and he had peace on all sides about him"[18].

[1] 2 Sam.5, *3*; [2] ib.*6-7*; [3] 1 Chron.14, *16*; [4] ib.20, *6*; [5] 2 Sam.8, *1*; [6] 1 Chron.18, *13*; [7] 2 Sam.8, *2*; [8] ib. 10; 1 Chron.19, *6-12*; [9] 2 Sam.10, *14*; [10] ib.12, *29*; [11] ib.10, *16-18*; *19*; [12] ib.8, *6*; [13] ib.8; [14] ib. *10*; [15] ib.5, *11*; [16] ib.8, *15*; [17] 1 Kings 4, *21* (5, *1*); [18] ib. *24* (5, *4*).

The inset design shows:
A LION SURMOUNTED BY A CROWN
(combined from ancient reliefs)

THE GREAT DAYS OF THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL * DAVID AND SOLOMON

1010–930 B.C.

THE kingdom founded by Saul did not disappear, though it had been severely tried from without and was split from within. The rift between Ishbaal the son of Saul and David lasted two years (c. 1010—1008). Ishbaal was murdered by his servants and David was anointed King over all Israel. ¶ The days of David and Solomon were times of splendour and glory in Israel. David completed the work of conquest, consolidated and extended it. He set out to obtain for his country all the lands which fell within its preordained boundaries: from the river Euphrates to the frontier of Egypt and from the Great Sea (the Mediterranean) to the Red Sea. In his reign all the territories that had been promised to the Patriarchs became the heritage of their descendants, excepting the Philistine Shephelah and the coast north of the Carmel. ¶ David's first step was to establish his kingdom firmly at home. He conquered Jerusalem from the Jebusites (c. 1003), and made it the capital of his kingdom and forever the centre of the religious and national life of his people. He recovered from the Philistines the Sharon and the low hill-country of Judah, in fact all that they had taken from Israel before his time. Thereafter he set out for conquests beyond his own borders, south, east and north. First he went up against Edom and subdued all their country, so as to open to his people the road to the Red Sea. Then he conquered Moab. The Ammonites sent for help to the kings of Aram in Syria and northern Transjordan. The Aramean army was defeated and the land of Ammon subdued. Now David turned north and smote the Arameans in Bashan. He captured Damascus and defeated Zobah, at that time the leading Aramean kingdom. All those countries remained under the rule of Israel in the days of David and Solomon. David made a treaty with Toi king of Hamath, and with Hiram king of Tyre. The borders of his kingdom were thus firmly established. ¶ Solomon did not add any conquests, "for God left him in peace all around". He encouraged political and commercial relations with Tyre and married a daughter of the Pharaoh of Egypt (a member of the XXIst dynasty). The age of military activity was followed by a period of calm and repose, of economic and cultural development, which continued throughout the greater part of Solomon's reign. ¶

ISRAEL FLOURISHING UNDER SOLOMON

970--930 B.C.

THE remaining Canaanite cities were captured and most of them became Israelite. What remained of the non-Israelite peoples finally surrendered. Solomon established an administrative, military and economic organization which lasted throughout his life. With the exception of the land of Judah, which enjoyed special privileges as the mainstay of the kingdom, the land of Israel was divided into twelve districts. Taxes were imposed on each. Their boundaries were not identical with those of the tribes. Each district had its own governor. All the inhabitants, but chiefly "the people which were not of the children of Israel", had to labour as bondsmen for the king. The administrative division introduced by Solomon lasted, with some modifications, as long as the Israelite kingdom. The countries of Edom, Moab and Ammon, together with the Aramean lands, were ruled by the king's officers. ¶ Jerusalem became the metropolis of Israel and the capital of the country. Solomon erected magnificent palaces there and surrounded the city with strong walls. He erected the Temple, "the house of God", and thus made Jerusalem "the Holy City", the symbol of the unity of Israel and of its high destiny. ¶ On the frontiers of his kingdom, and particularly along the main roads Solomon built fortified cities for his chariots and cities of store, thereby enhancing the security of his kingdom and encouraging its economic life. ¶ The period of Solomon was the time when material civilization was at its highest in Israel. Peace and security promoted the development of agriculture, handicrafts and commerce. The various branches of agriculture and stock-raising continued as before to take the first place in the economic life of the country; in the mountains and the lands on the border of the desert new settlements were founded, and land hitherto barren was tilled and bore fruit. At the same time handicrafts were perfected. Archaeological investigations have shown that Solomon planned large-scale exploitation of the copper and iron to be found in the Arabah. His numerous building projects doubtlessly encouraged him to develop the quarrying and metal industries of his realm. ¶ Solomon held the key points on the trade-route between Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, Syria and Egypt. He married the daughter of one of the Pharaohs of the XXIst dynasty and maintained friendly relations with the king of Hamath and particularly with Hiram king of Tyre. Solomon's control of Elath and Ezion Geber gave his people the sea-routes to Southern Arabia and East Africa (Ophir), to which lands he sent the ships he had built. ¶ Solomon's fame spread far and wide, but at the end of his life his hold on his kingdom grew weak. There was a revolution in Egypt where the throne was seized by the Libyan general Shishak (Shoshenq), the founder of the XXIInd dynasty. This event marked the end of friendly relations between the two countries. Egypt became the refuge where all those who were opposed to Solomon could plot in safety. ¶ At the end of Solomon's reign a spirit of revolt spread throughout the northern tribes. It had its origin in the heavy taxes exacted for the king and the jealousy which Ephraim felt at the supremacy of Judah. This movement found at last a leader in Jeroboam son of Nebat the Ephratite. Damascus detached itself from Jerusalem and again became the capital city of an Aramean kingdom. ¶

The inset design shows:
SOLOMON'S TEMPLE *(drawing based on reconstruction)*

16. THE ORGANISATION OF THE STATE IN THE DAYS OF SOLOMON 970—930

"SO king Solomon was king over all Israel"[1], and ruled over all the countries that David had conquered. "And Solomon made affinity with Pharaoh king of Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter"[2]. "Pharaoh king of Egypt had gone up, and taken Gezer... and given it for a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife"[3]. Hiram king of Tyre was Solomon's ally; he "had furnished Solomon with cedar trees and fir trees, and with gold, according to all his desire... then king Solomon gave Hiram twenty cities in the land of Galilee... And he called them the land of Cabul unto this day"[4]. ▪ "AND Solomon had twelve officers over all Israel, which provided victuals for the king and his household: each man his month in a year made provision"[5]. They furnished "Solomon's provision" as well as "barley also and straw for the horses and dromedaries (chariots)"[6]. He made the people his bondmen "for to build the house of the Lord, and his own house, and Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem, and Hazor, and Megiddo, and Gezer"[7]. He had quarriers, porters and builders, over whom there were overseers "which bare rule over the people that wrought in the work"[8]. Solomon built the House of the Lord (the Temple) and his palace of "great stones, costly stones"[9] and of the cedars of Lebanon which he received from Tyre; while as to the vessels of the Temple, "in the plain of Jordan did the king cast them, in the clay ground between Succoth and Zarthan"[10]. ▪ "AND Solomon built Gezer... And all the cities of store... and cities for his horsemen, and that which Solomon desired to build in Jerusalem, and in Lebanon, and in all the land of his dominion"[11], "And he built Tadmor in the wilderness... Also he built Beth Horon the upper, and Beth Horon the nether, fenced cities, with walls, gates, and bars"[12].

[1] 1 Kings 4, *1*; [2] ib.*3*, *1*; [3] ib.*9*, *16*; [4] ib. *11*; *13*; [5] ib.*4*, *7*; [6] ib.*28* (*5*, *8*); [7] ib.*9*, *15*; [8] ib.*23*; [9] ib.*5*, *17* (*5*, *31*); [10] ib.*7*, *46*; [11] ib.*9*, *17*; *19*; [12] 2 Chron.*8*, *4*; *5*.

17. THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

IN the days of Solomon "Judah and Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea in multitude, eating and drinking, and making merry"[1]. Peace brought well-being to the peasants: "And Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig tree, from Dan even to Beer-Sheba, all the days of Solomon"[2]. The country was good and large "a land flowing with milk and honey"[3], "a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil olive, and honey"[4]. Extensive areas in mountain and valley were covered with forests: cedars on the Lebanon, cypresses on Mount Hermon and Lebanon, oaks in Bashan and sycamores in the lowland. There was much cattle in the Sharon and in Bashan, and ample flocks in Judah and the whole of the country beyond the Jordan. ▪ THE king possessed great estates inherited from his father David, and there were "rulers of the substance", over the fields and the vineyards, the olive and the sycamore trees, over the cattle, the flocks and the camel-herds[5]. Solomon bred horses for his cavalry and they had "stalls for horses... and twelve thousand horsemen; whom he bestowed in the chariot cities"[6]. ▪ THE Children of Israel devoted themselves to sundry handicrafts, and learnt from the men of Tyre "the cunning to work all works". In the neighbourhood of Lachish and Mareshah dwelt "the families... that wrought fine linen"; there were famous potters in various places in Judah, while the Kenazzites and the Kenites were renowned smiths[7]. On the Northern coast blue and purple dyes were made; while dyeing was known in various parts of the country. Solomon exploited the mines of Edom and the land of Zoba, and copper was very plentiful in his kingdom. It was "a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass"[8]. "The vessels... were exceeding many; neither was the weight of the brass found out"[9]. He also had foundries in the Jordan Plain. ▪ COMMERCE increased considerably in those days. "The king's merchants" went forth to lands near and

far, and exchanged the copper and the fruits of the country, namely wheat, and barley, olives, oil, wine, honey and balm, for the objects of art and precious metals, for fine woods and horses[10]. "Judah, and the land of Israel, they were thy merchants; they traded in the market wheat of Minnith... and honey... and balm" (Ezekiel, xxvii, 17 in the Lamentation for Tyre). They trafficked together with the people of Tyre by land and sea, and the king sent large fleets to trade with the lands of the Red Sea. "And king Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion Geber which is... on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir (East Africa?)..."[11]. "Once in three years came the navy... bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks"[12].

[1] 1 Kings 4, *20*; [2] ib. *25*; [3] Exod 3, *8*; [4] Deut.8, *7-8*; [5] 1 Chron.27, *25-31*; [6] 2 Chron.9, *25*; [7] 1 Chron.4, *21-23*; *14*; [8] Deut.8, *9*; [9] 1 Kings 7, *47*; [10] ib. 10, *28*; [11] ib.9, *26-28*; [12] ib.10, *22*.

18. DIVISION AND INTERNECINE WARFARE 930 — 880

A HEAVY burden was imposed on the people by the governors of Solomon, and Jeroboam son of Nebat, an Ephratite of Zereda, a "mighty man of valour" "lifted up his hand against the king... Solomon sought therefore to kill Jeroboam. And Jeroboam arose, and fled into Egypt, unto Shishak king of Egypt, and was in Egypt until the death of Solomon" [1]. After the death of Solomon "Rehoboam (his son) went to Shechem: for all Israel were come... to make him king. And... when Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who was yet in Egypt, heard of it... they sent and called him" [2]... "and made him king over all Israel" [3], while Rehoboam remained king of Judah. "And there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all their days" [4]. "And Rehoboam dwelt in Jerusalem, and built cities for defence in Judah" [5]. ▪ "AND it came to pass in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, that Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem" [6]. His troops spread over Judah and Israel and reached even Edom. They robbed and plundered the towns and villages and exacted tribute from Rehoboam; but they did not conquer the country. ▪ ABIJAH son of Rehoboam took some cities from Jeroboam. "Neither did Jeroboam recover strength again in the days of Abijah" [7]. Nadab (son of Jeroboam) and all Israel laid siege to Gibbethon (which belonged to the Philistines). "And Baasha the son of Ahijah... conspired against him; and Baasha smote him at Gibbethon... and reigned in his stead. And it came to pass... that he smote all the house of Jeroboam". "And there was war between Asa (son of Rehoboam) and Baasha king of Israel all their days. And Baasha king of Israel went up against Judah, and built Ramah, that he might not suffer any to go out or come in to Asa king of Judah" [8]. Thereupon Asa besought the aid of Ben Hadad king of Damascus, "so Ben Hadad hearkened unto king Asa, and sent the captains of the hosts which he had against the cities of Israel, and smote Ijon, and Dan, and Abel Beth Maachah, and all Cinneroth" [9]. ▪ ASA had a powerful army. "And there came out against them Zerah the Ethiopian ("Kushite") with an host...; and came unto Mareshah... So the Lord smote the

A RITUAL DANCE ROUND THE ASHERAH
(from a Cypriote pottery group)

DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM AND RISE OF ARAM

930–849 B.C.

AFTER Solomon's death ten of the Israelite tribes revolted against his son Rehoboam. The kingdom of David and Solomon split into two: Judah to the south and Israel, under Jeroboam, to the north; the country beyond the Jordan fell to Israel. This split led to a long period of fratricidal struggle which enfeebled both realms. The kings of both endeavoured to fortify their borders and to keep their hold not only on their respective portions of the country but on most of the border lands occupied since David. On the whole they succeeded in keeping their possessions together. ¶ In 925 Shishak king of Egypt invaded the land of Israel. His hosts spread far and wide in both Judah and Israel. His aim, however, was only to rob and not to conquer. When he had finished looting he returned to his own country. ¶ In the days of Jeroboam (930—910) and of his rival Rehoboam (930—913) there was ceaseless warfare between the two kingdoms. The victory of Abiam (913—911) over Jeroboam decided the conflict for a while in favour of Judah. Early in the reign of Baasha king of Israel (909—886) and of Asa king of Judah (911—871) the northern kingdom waxed strong again. Only a timely raid on Galilee by the king of Damascus saved Judah from Israel. At the same time Judah was also in danger from the south. Zerah the "Kushite" (possibly Pharaoh Osarkon, of the XXIInd Libyan dynasty) invaded the country, but was defeated by the army of king Asa. ¶ Judah remained faithful to the House of David till the destruction of the First Temple and beyond, while the kingdom of Israel was weakened by frequent revolt and dynastic changes. For this reason the Israelite army could not prevail even against the Philistines; for many years (910—886) the Israelites besieged Gibbethon, yet did not succeed in capturing the town and opening their way to the coastal plain of the south. ¶ The severe disturbances from which Israel had suffered for nearly 30 years came to an end in the days of Omri (885—874). He founded a strong dynasty and built the new capital Shomron (Samaria, 880). The pressure of external foes diminished, while internecine war died down. A treaty of friendship was signed between the three neighbouring countries of Tyre, Israel and Judah. Yet in this period of relative quiet the Aramean kingdom of Damascus began to rise in power; and in the distance could be seen a still more dangerous foe, the newly-risen Assyrian Empire. ¶ In the days of Ahab son of Omri (874—852) the Arameans conquered large areas of Israelite territory beyond the Jordan and even besieged Samaria (856), but in vain. Ahab overcame them near Aphek in the Golan. Thereafter peace reigned between the former foes, so that two years later the king of Israel joined a coalition headed by the king of Damascus against Shalmaneser III, king of Assyria. Battle was joined at Qarqar in Northern Syria (853); it remained undecided and the Assyrian peril was warded off for the time being. The coalition thereupon dissolved itself. A year later Ahab and his ally Jehoshaphat king of Judah (871—849) went up against Damascus in order to regain the Israelite territory in Transjordan. They were defeated. Ahab was wounded and died. The Arameans grew stronger again and the Israelites weakened. At that time Mesha king of Moab revolted against Samaria and seized part of the land of Israel in southern Trans-Jordan. In vain did Joram son of Ahab (851—842) and Jehoshaphat his ally try to make Mesha submit. ¶ During this period of perplexity and distress there arose in Israel a powerful national and religious movement. It aimed at the destruction of the Tyrian cult of Baal which the house of Omri had introduced and spread in Israel, and at reviving the original faith of the people. Elijah the prophet led this movement in the days of Ahab, and it was continued by Elisha during the reigns of Ahab's descendants. The destruction of the foreign cults involved the fall of the dynasty which had favoured them. ¶

19. ALLIANCE OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH AND WAR UPON THE NEIGHBOURS 880 — 842 B.C.

"AND Ahab the son of Omri reigned over Israel in Samaria... he took to wife Jezebel the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians"[1]. "And Jehoshaphat made peace with the king of Israel"[2]. "And Ben Hadad the king of Aram gathered all his host together... and he went up and besieged Samaria... and the Arameans fled; and Israel pursued them: and Ben Hadad... escaped on an horse with the horsemen"[3]. "And... at the return of the year... Ben Hadad numbered the Arameans, and went up to Aphek, to fight against Israel... and the children of Israel slew of the Arameans... but the rest fled to Aphek"[4]. The king of Damascus wished to make peace with Ahab, and promised to return him the cities of Israel which were in his hands, and to give him "streets" (bazars) in Damascus such as his father had set up in Samaria. "And Ben Hadad came forth unto him... So he made a covenant with him, and sent him away"[5]. ▪ IN 853 Shalmaneser king of Assyria sent a large military expedition to Syria. Ahab sent an auxiliary force to Ben Hadad. "Twelve hundred chariots... of Adadidri (Ben Hadad) of Damascus... two thousand chariots and ten thousand infantry of Ahab of Israel... Twelve kings he brought to his aid... I did battle with them from Qarqar unto Galazu..." (Inscription of Shalmaneser III). ▪ THREE years after the battle of Aphek Ahab and Jehoshaphat went forth to fight Ben Hadad. "The king of Israel and Jehoshaphat the king of Judah went up to Ramoth Gilead". Ahab was slain in the battle[6]. "But it came to pass, when Ahab was dead, that the king of Moab rebelled against the king of Israel"[7]. This incident is also recorded in the "Moabite Stone", which is the memorial stele erected by Mesha king of Moab at Dibon, and where he describes his victories against Israel. "So the king of Israel (Joram) went, and the king of Judah (Jehoshaphat), and the king of Edom (through the wilderness of Edom)." And when all the Moabites heard that the kings were come up to fight against them, they... stood in the border... The Israelites rose up and smote the Moabites... And there was great indignation against Israel; and they departed from him, and returned to their own land"[8]. Thus Joram did not succeed in bringing Moab back to the allegiance of Israel. "It came to pass after this also, that the children of Moab, and the children of Ammon... came against Jehoshaphat to battle"... at En Gedi, ascending "at the end of the brook, before the wilderness of Jeruel". But they fled in panic before Judah. "So the realm of Jehoshaphat was quiet: for his God gave him rest round about"[9].

[1] 1 Kings 16, *29-31*; [2] ib.22, *44 (45)*; [3] ib.20, *1*; *20*; [4] ib.*26*; [5] ib. *33-34*; [6] ib.22, *1*; *29*; *34*; [7] 2 Kings 3, *5*; [8] ib.*9*; *21*; *29-30*; [9] 2 Chron. 20, *1-2*; *16*; *30*.

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Ethiopians before Asa, and before Judah; and the Ethiopians fled. And Asa... pursued them unto Gerar"[10]. ▪ "AND in those times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries"[11]. Then did Zimri destroy all the house of Baasha. "And the people (that) were encamped against Gibbethon, which belonged to the Philistines... heard say, Zimri hath conspired, and hath also slain the king: wherefore all Israel made Omri, the captain of the host, king over Israel"[12]. Omri reigned for six years at Tirzah, "and he bought the hill Samaria... and built on the hill, and called the name of the city... Samaria"[13].

[1] 1 Kings 11, *26*; *40*; [2] ib.12, *1-3*; [3] ib. *20*; [4] ib.14, *30*; [5] 2 Chron. 11, *5*; [6] 1 Kings 14, *25*; [7] 2 Chron.13, *19-20*; [8] 1 Kings 15, *27*; *28*; *16-17*; [9] ib.*20*; [10] 2 Chron.14, *9*; *12*; [11] ib.15, *5*; [12] 1 Kings 16, *12*; *15-16*; [13] ib. *23-24*.

DISTRESS AND TRANSIENT GLORY

849--744 B.C.

THE pressure of the Arameans increased during the reign of Joram king of Israel and in the last year of his reign he was defeated by Hazael king of Damascus (842). At the same time Judah was troubled by an invasion of its borders by the Philistines and the Arabs. ¶ The religious and national movement in Israel, led by the prophet Elisha, brought about a revolution. Jehu, an Israelite general, slew Joram and reigned in his stead (842—815), uprooting the worship of Baal at Samaria. A similar revolution took place in Judah a few years later in the days of the tyranical queen Athaliah (daughter of Ahab and Jezebel), who had established Baal-worship in Jerusalem; she was slain, and Joash, a prince of the Davidic royal family, was made king in her place (837—798). ¶ Both countries arose strengthened in their internal structure from these revolutions. Yet the outward danger from Damascus did not pass; it was but a short respite that was given Israel by the campaigns of Shalmaneser III against the western countries. To counter the Aramean danger Jehu sent tribute at the beginning of this reign to Shalmaneser III, king of Assyria, who was at the time engaged in a campaign against Syria (841). As soon as the Assyrian danger diminished, the Arameans renewed their pressure against Israel. In the last years of Jehu Hazael, king of Damascus, conquered most of Transjordan. He also invaded the country west of the river, and troubled Israel also all the days of Jehu's son Jehoahaz (815—799). In Hazael's great campaign against Israel (c. 815) he even reached the borders of Judah. He was satisfied, however, with the heavy tribute he received from Joash king of Judah. At the same time other neighbours to the east and the south pressed hard upon both Israel and Judah. ¶ Aram disturbed Israel for about a century until a "saviour" in the person of Adad Nirari III king of Assyria arose for the latter. He attacked the Aramean states and smote Ben Hadad son of Hazael (805). Israel and Judah thereupon also roused themselves to action. Joash son of Jehoahaz king of Israel (799—784) regained the cities which had fallen into Aramean hands. Amaziah son of Joash king of Judah (798—785) defeated Edom and conquered Sela. But the successes of the two kings brought about a renewal of the old quarrels. War broke out between Joash of Israel and Amaziah of Judah, in which the latter suffered a heavy defeat (785). ¶ The rising tide in the affairs of Israel and Judah which began with the decline of Aram reached its height in Israel during the long reign of Jeroboam II son of Joash (784—744) and in Judah in the days of Uzziah (Azariah) son of Amaziah. (He reigned from 785—759 alone, and thereafter, till 743, with his son Jotham as regent). The two kingdoms were strong and even aggressive abroad, while internal conditions remained peaceful. Jeroboam liberated northern Transjordan from the Aramean yoke and captured the fortress of Karnaim, till in the end the kingdom of Damascus once more came for a short period under Israelite rule. Uzziah king of Judah also set out to enlarge his borders. He smote the Philistines and the Arabs, conquered extensive areas of the southern coastal plain, and completed the subjugation of Edom. ¶ This was a period of political and economic achievement for both kingdoms. Side by by side with security and plenty there arose in the prophecies of Amos and Hoshea in Israel, and Isaiah in Judah magnificent spiritual creations of lasting value. The prophets protested against the grinding of the faces of the poor, and the corruption of morals which could be seen in the midst of prosperity and plenty. In their warnings Amos and Hoshea foresaw that the period of growth and expansion would soon pass away, and that the Kingdom of Israel would be sapped from within and destroyed from without. And in fact the period of prosperity did not last long. The great Assyrian conqueror Tiglath Pileser III turned to the west and his dread shadow fell upon all the small kingdoms in Syria and Palestine. ¶

20. DECLINE AND INVASIONS BY NEIGHBOURING NATIONS 849—842—784

IN the days of Jehoram son of Jehoshaphat (849-843) "Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah, and made a King over themselves"[1]. "Then Libnah revolted"[2]. "Moreover the Lord stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines and of the Arabians... And they came up into Judah and broke into it"[3]. There was great danger to both kingdoms from the Arameans of Damascus; therefore the alliance between Israel and Judah was strengthened. "And he (Ahaziah son of Jehoram) went with Joram the son of Ahab to war against Hazael king of Aram in Ramoth Gilead and the Arameans wounded Joram"[4]. ▪ "AND Elisha the prophet called one of the children of the prophets"[5] and he sent him to Jehu, captain of the host of Israel that was camping at Ramoth Gilead and he anointed Jehu king over Israel. "So Jehu... conspired against Joram"[6] and he killed him and "he slew all that remained unto Ahab in Samaria" and the priests and prophets of Baal he destroyed out of Israel[7]. ▪ AT that time Shalmaneser III king of Assyria invaded Syria and his fear fell upon Aram. Jehu asked for his protection: "At that time I received tribute of the men of Tyre, Sidon and of Jehu, son of Omri" (Inscription of Shalmaneser III, 841). The favour of Assyria did not help Jehu for long. Hazael king of Aram went out and "smote them in all the coasts of Israel. From Jordan eastward, all the land... the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites"[8]. In another campaign he smote Judah, "and fought against Gath, and took it: and... set his face to go up to Jerusalem"[9]. "Hazael king of Aram oppressed Israel all the days of Jehoahaz" (the son of Jehu)[10]. The Moabites also invaded the land[11] and the Ammonites spoiled Gilead[12]. ▪ TOWARDS the end of the reign of Jehoahaz of Israel (815-799) there came a change for the better, for in 805 Adadnirari III invaded Syria and subdued the Kingdom of Damascus. "From the Euphrates — Hatti, Amurru in its totality, Tyre, Sidon, Bit Humri (Israel), Edom, Palastu (Philistia), up to the great sea of the setting sun — I brought in submission to my feet... Mari, king of Aram — in Damascus, his royal city, I shut him up... and he laid hold of my feet, he became my vassal" (Inscription of Adad Nirari III). ▪ The next generation of kings in Judah and Israel gathered new strength. "And Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz took again out of the hand of Ben Hadad the son of Hazael the cities, which he had taken out of the hand of... his father by war"[13]. "And Amaziah (king of Judah) strengthened himself and led forth his people, and went to the valley of salt (Melah), and smote... the children of Seir (Edom)"[14]. Finally the two kings quarrelled. "Jehoash king of Israel went up; and he and Amaziah king of Judah looked one another in the face at Beth Shemesh, which belongeth to Judah. And Judah was put to the worse before Israel... and Jehoash... took Amaziah... and brake down the wall of Jerusalem"[15].

[1] 2 Kings 8, 20; [2] ib.22; [3] 2 Chron.21, 16-17; [4] 2 Kings 8, 28; [5] ib.9, 1; [6] ib.14; [7] ib.10, 17; 18-28; [8] ib.32-33; [9] ib.12, 17 (18); [10] ib.13, 22; [11] ib.20; [12] Amos 1, 13; [13] 2 Kings 13, 25; [14] 2 Chron. 25, 11; [15] 2 Kings 14, 11-13.

The inset design shows:
A LION *(from the seal of Shema servant of Jeroboam II)*

21. ISRAEL AND JUDAH REGAIN THEIR STRENGTH 784 — 744

JEROBOAM the son of Joash king of Israel (784-744) and Uzziah (Azariah) the son of Amaziah king of Judah (785-759) succeeded in restoring the boundaries of their Kingdoms and did many great deeds. "And the Lord said not that he would blot out the name of Israel from under heaven: but he saved them by the hand of Jeroboam the son of Joash" [1]. He defeated Aram at Lo-Dabar and captured Karnaim. This victory filled the nation with joy and pride. "Ye which rejoice in a thing of nought (Lo Dabar), which say, Have we not taken to us horns (Karnaim) by our own strength?" [2]. Jeroboam "restored the coast of Israel from the entering of Hamath (Lebo Hamath) unto the sea of the plain (the Dead Sea)... and recovered Damascus... for Israel" [3]. ■ UZZIAH of Judah too was successful. "And he warred against the Philistines, and brake down the wall of Gath, and the wall of Jabneh, and the wall of Ashdod... And God helped him against the Philistines, and against the Arabians... and the Mehunims (Meunites)... and his name spread abroad even to the entering in of Egypt" [4]. Uzziah restored Elath to Judah and built it anew [5]. ■ THE reigns of these two kings were days of prosperity for Israel and Judah, and they sat "at ease in Zion, and trust in the mountain of Samaria" [6]. However, the shadows cast by Assyria deepened and threatened the life of pleasure and luxury. "But, behold, I will raise up against you a nation, O house of Israel, saith the Lord the God of hosts; and they shall afflict you from the entering in of Hamath (Lebo Hamath) unto the river of the wilderness (Arabah)" [7].

[1] 2 Kings 14, 27; [2] Amos 6, *3*; [3] 2 Kings 14, *25*; *28*; [4] 2 Chron.26, *6-8*; [5] 2 Kings 14, *22*; [6] Amos. 6, *1*; [7] ib. *14*.

20. DECLINE AND INVASIONS BY NEIGHBOURING NATIONS 849 — 842 — 784

22. SAMARIA FALLS — ISRAEL RUINED 744 — 721

23. SENNACHERIB'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST JUDAH 701

The inset designs show:

AN ASSYRIAN BATTERING-RAM *(after an Assyrian relief from Nineveh)* * AN ASSYRIAN BOWMAN *(after an Assyrian relief of Sennacherib's time, from Nineveh)*

ISRAEL CRUSHED BY ASSYRIA 744--701 B.C.

AFTER a prolongued period of peace and prosperity under Jeroboam II the kingdom of Israel began to decline. Zechariah, son of Jeroboam was the victim of a conspiracy on the part of his officers (744). His death marked the extinction of the House of Jehu, which had ruled Israel for about a century. Thereafter one disturbance followed another in Samaria, and there were repeated changes of dynasty. In those days of internal trouble, pressure from abroad also increased to a dangerous extent. ¶ In 745 Tiglath Pileser III ascended the throne of Assyria and conducted a number of military campaigns to the west. He defeated the kings of Syria one after the other and converted many states into Assyrian provinces. The kings whose territories he had not yet approached sent him tribute from afar; they included Menahem of Israel (743-734) and Ahaz of Judah (743-727). Before long, however, Tiglath Pileser began a campaign against Damascus (734-733). During this crisis the throne of Israel was seized by Pekah. Now Pekah concluded a treaty with Rezin king of Damascus for a joint defence against Assyria. They wished to force all neighbouring princes to join in their alliance. Ahaz king of Judah, however, refused to comply. Thereupon they both attacked him, ravaged Judah and besieged Jerusalem. In his distress Ahaz asked for the help of Assyria, which came speedily: "And the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it" (2 Kings, xvi, 9). Tiglath Pileser subdued the whole country of Damascus and northern Transjordan, sent most of the inhabitants of those countries into exile, and set Assyrian governors over their lands. Then he continued to expand his boundaries to the south-west. In 732 he attacked Israel, possessed himself of Galilee, Gilead and the Sharon and brought them under his direct rule. The remainder of the Israelite kingdom, now restricted to the mountains of Samaria and a vassal of Assyria, continued to drag out its existence for a few more years. Its last king, Hoshea, commenced, however, negotiations with Egypt and ceased sending tribute to his overlord. Shalmaneser V, Tiglath Pileser's heir and successor, acted at once; he imprisoned Hoshea and besieged Samaria (724). Shalmaneser died during these operations and Sargon II, who took his place, captured the capital of Israel in 721. Samaria was destroyed and rebuilt as the capital of an Assyrian province. ¶ The destruction of the kingdom of Samaria left Judah "the remnant in Israel". When Philistia likewise fell and was replaced by the Assyrian province of Ashdod (711) the importance of Judah grew even greater. Now it was the only state still left in Palestine that kept some sort of independence. Hezekiah son of Ahaz, king of Judah (727-698), devoted himself to administrative reform and a general strengthening of his kingdom. Although he was nominally tributary to Assyria he attempted to annex sections of the provinces of Samaria and Philistia. ¶ In the first years of Sennacherib son of Sargon (705-681) a wide-spread conspiracy was hatched in all countries from Babylon to Egypt. Phoenician and Philistian cities took part in the revolt, in which Hezekiah played an important rôle. But Sennacherib subdued his adversaries in his great Palestinian campaign (701). At Eltekeh he defeated the Egyptians and their Palestinian allies. Thereafter his forces invaded Judah. Hezekiah offered to submit and sent tribute to Sennacherib, but refused to open the gates of Jerusalem to him, disregarding all threats. His confidence was justified, for Sennacherib left Judah suddenly and Jerusalem was delivered from destruction. ¶ Although baulked of their prey, the Assyrians left a trail of destruction and desolation in Judah. An echo of these events can be found in the visions of the prophets Micah and Isaiah. Judah, however, recovered rapidly and strengthened itself at home and abroad, although it continued to send tribute to Nineveh throughout the reign of Manasseh, son of Hezekiah (697-643) and indeed until the fall of the Assyrian Empire in the days of Josiah, the grandson of Manasseh. ¶

22. SAMARIA FALLS — ISRAEL RUINED 732 — 721

AFTER the murder of Zachariah the son of Jeroboam by Shallum son of Jabesh the troubles did not cease in Israel. "They shall eat every man the flesh of his own arm: Manasseh, Ephraim; and Ephraim, Manasseh"[1]. Menahem the son of Gadi smote the murderer of Zachariah and reigned in his stead. In his days Tiglath Pileser III (Pul) invaded Israel, "and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver"[2]. In 734 Pekahiah son of Menahem was murdered by Pekah the son of Ramaliah who reigned in his stead. He made an alliance against Assyria with Rezin the king of Damascus. "In the days of Pekah... came Tiglath Pileser king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel Beth Maachah... and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria"[3]. Tiglath Pileser III reports: "On my former campaign all of the cities of the land of Bit Humria (House of Omri, i.e. Israel) I counted among the cities of my Kingdom... all of its people together with their goods I carried off to Assyria. Pakaha, their king, they deposed...". ▪ Hoshea the son of Elah conspired against Pekah and slew him and reigned in Samaria[4]. "Against him came up Shalmaneser (V)... And the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea... therefore the king of Assyria shut him up... [he] came up throughout all the land, and went up to Samaria, and besieged it three years"[5]. During the siege Shalmaneser died; his successor Sargon took Samaria. "And at the end of three years they took it... And the king of Assyria did carry away Israel unto Assyria"[6], and he destroyed the city.

[1] Isaiah 9, *20-21*; [2] 2 Kings 15, *19*; [3] ib. *29*; [4] ib. *30*; 17, *1*; [5] ib. 17, *3-5*; [6] ib.18, *10-11*.

23. SENNACHERIB'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST JUDAH 701

AMONG the leaders of the revolt against Sennacherib, which broke out in Syria and Palestine, was also Hezekiah, king of Judah. "And he rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not. He smote the Philistines even unto Gaza and the borders thereof"[1]. The allies decided "to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh and to trust in the shadow of Egypt"[2]. Then Sennacherib marched to Palestine, and passed along the Phoenician coast till the borders of Philistia (701). "The Egyptian kings... came to their aid... in the neighbourhood of the city of the Altaku (Eltekeh).. they offered battle... I fought with them and brought about their defeat... As for Hezekiah, the Jew, who did not submit to my yoke, 46 of his strong, walled cities, as well as the small cities in their neighbourhood, which were without number... I besieged and took. 200,150 people... I brought away from them and counted as spoil. Himself, like a caged bird, I shut up in Jerusalem, his royal city... as for Hezekiah, the terrifying splendour of my majesty overcame him... 30 talents of gold... he had (them) bring after me to Nineveh, my royal city". (Sennacherib's inscription). It was a great disaster: "For her wound is incurable; for it is come unto Judah; he is come unto the gate of my people, even to Jerusalem"[3]. "And Hezekiah king of Judah sent to the king of Assyria... saying, I have offered... And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah... three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold"[4]. However, Sennacherib planned to take Jerusalem. "And the king of Assyria sent Rabshakeh... to Jerusalem... with a great army. And he stood by the conduit of the upper pool"[5]. Other troops advanced from the North. "...As yet shall he remain at Nob that day: he shall shake his hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem"[6]. The prophet Isaiah raised the spirits of the people and the king. Jerusalem did not surrender. "So Rabshakeh returned, and found the king of Assyria warring against Libnah: for he had heard that he was departed from Lachish. And he heard say concerning Tirhakah king of Ethiopia (king of Kush, then ruler of Egypt), He is come forth to make war with thee"[7]. ▪ Sennacherib's campaign ended with a sudden check. "And it came to pass... that the angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians... So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed... and dwelt at Nineveh"[8]. Many generations afterwards legends were still told about Sennacherib's campaign and its unforeseen end (Herodotus, Book II, 141).

[1] 2 Kings 18, *7-8*; [2] Isaiah 30, *2*; [3] Micah 1, *9*; [4] 2 Kings 18, *14*; [5] Isaiah 36, *2*; [6] ib.10, *32*; [7] ib.37, *8-9*; [8] 2 Kings 19, *35-36*.

ISRAEL IN EXILE * JUDAH STRUGGLES AND SURVIVES

732--597 B.C.

TIGLATH Pileser III and Sargon II, kings of Assyria, deported most of the Israelites and settled them in Mesopotamia and Media far from their homeland. Many of the exiles became assimilated with the peoples amongst whom their lot was cast. Others kept for generations the traditions of their forefathers, and still hoped to return to their fatherland according to the words of the prophet: "And I will bring Israel again to his habitation, and he shall feed on Carmel and Bashan, and his soul shall be satisfied upon Mount Ephraim and Gilead" (Jeremiah, L, 19). ¶ The Israelites who remained were not strong enough to renew their national life in the homeland. They soon intermingled with colonists who had been brought from afar and settled in Israel by the Assyrian kings from Tiglath Pileser (732) to Ashurbanipal (669-630). However, the Israelites did not quite break off all connections with Judah and Jerusalem, while the foreign colonists accepted some of the customs and religious practices of Israel. As they continued to observe many of their own habits and beliefs, their worship combined the two elements into a whole of a peculiar character. ¶ After Ashurbanipal the power of Assyria declined rapidly and her empire began to break up. The Chaldean general Nabopolassar freed Babylon from the yoke of Assyria and founded the Neo-Babylonian or Chaldean empire (625). ¶ At that time king Josiah (639-609) began to reform the religious life of Judah in the spirit of Moses and the prophets. The discovery of the Book of the Covenant in the Temple (621) encouraged him to remove the high places and the remains of alien worship throughout his territories "from Geba to Beersheba." His relations with the remnant of Israel in Samaria grew very close. He not only succeeded in annexing certain parts of the former Israelite kingdom to his own territory but spread his influence over the whole of Samaria and Gelil Haggoim (Galilee of the Gentiles). ¶ In the years 614-612 Assyria was defeated by Media and Babylon; her power was broken and Nineveh the capital city was captured and destroyed. The report of its ruin aroused joy in all the provinces of the fallen empire. "There is no healing of thy bruise; thy wound is grievous: all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap the hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?" (Nahum, iii, 19); "And he will stretch out his hand against the north, and destroy Assyria; and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness" (Zephaniah, ii, 13). The victors divided the bulk of the Assyrian empire amongst themselves. Abar-Nahara, however, the territory beyond the river Euphrates, remained formally subject to Assyria. The Assyrians continued to struggle against their fate. The last king of Assyria, Ashuruballit II, endeavoured to maintain his position in Haran. After his failure there he retreated west of the Euphrates and besought Egypt to rescue him (610). Pharaoh Nechoh set out to his assistance. Josiah, who was the ally of Nabopolassar, blocked the way at Megiddo on the famous battle-field of the nations, which lives in later tradition as Armageddon, the scene of the greatest and last human struggle (Revelations, xvi, 16). Josiah fell in the battle (609); Judah submitted and paid tribute, to Pharaoh. ¶ In 604 Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar ascended the throne of Babylon, which during his reign regained and surpassed its former splendour of the days of Hammurabi. All Syria and Palestine were taken by him from Egypt in the early days of his reign. Jehoiakim, son of Josiah, (609—598) was compelled to submit outwardly, but continued to entertain proposals from Egypt. Finally he revolted openly against the Chaldeans (598). Nebuchadnezzar sent a vast army against Judah. In the meanwhile Jehoiakim died and his son Jehoiachin, who became king in his stead (597), submitted to the Chaldeans and was exiled to Babylon. In his place Nebuchadnezzar enthroned Zedekiah, another son of Josiah. ¶

The map shows the boundaries of the Assyrian Empire under Sargon II (721–705).

24. THE EXILE OF THE TEN TRIBES AND THE SETTLEMENT OF GENTILES IN THEIR PLACES 732 — 630

"AND the king of Assyria did carry away Israel into Assyria, and put them in Halah, and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes"[1]. Sargon states in his inscription, that he deported from Samaria alone 27,290 inhabitants, put the remainder under tribute and rebuilt the city. "And the King of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria"[2]. Sargon exiled many Babylonians to the Land of Israel after he had destroyed their city (709); he settled in their place many other peoples, including Israelites. In the "Land of the House of Omri" he settled also exiles from some Arab tribes. "Then one of the priests whom they had carried away from Samaria came and dwelt in Beth El, and taught them how they should fear the Lord"[3]. "So these nations feared the Lord, and served their graven images"[4]. The population of the former Kingdom of Israel became a mixture of Israelites, half-breeds and foreign settlers. ■ In the days of Hezekiah "all Israel that were present went out to the cities of Judah... and threw down the high places and the altars out of all Judah and Benjamin, in Ephraim also and Manasseh, until they had utterly destroyed them all"[5]. And when Josiah king of Judah had cleansed his country from "the groves, and the carved images, and the molten images" he did the same thing "in the cities of Manasseh, and Ephraim... even unto Naphtali, with their mattocks round about"[6]. ■ ACCORDING to the tradition of the "Samaritans" (the inhabitants of the province of Samaria) in later generations, their forefathers had settled in Palestine "since the days of Esar Haddon king of Assur, which brought us up hither" and from the days of the "great and noble Asnapper"[7] i. e. Assurbanipal king of Assyria, who settled exiles from Persia, Elam and Babylonia in all "Abar-Nahara" (Syria and Palestine).

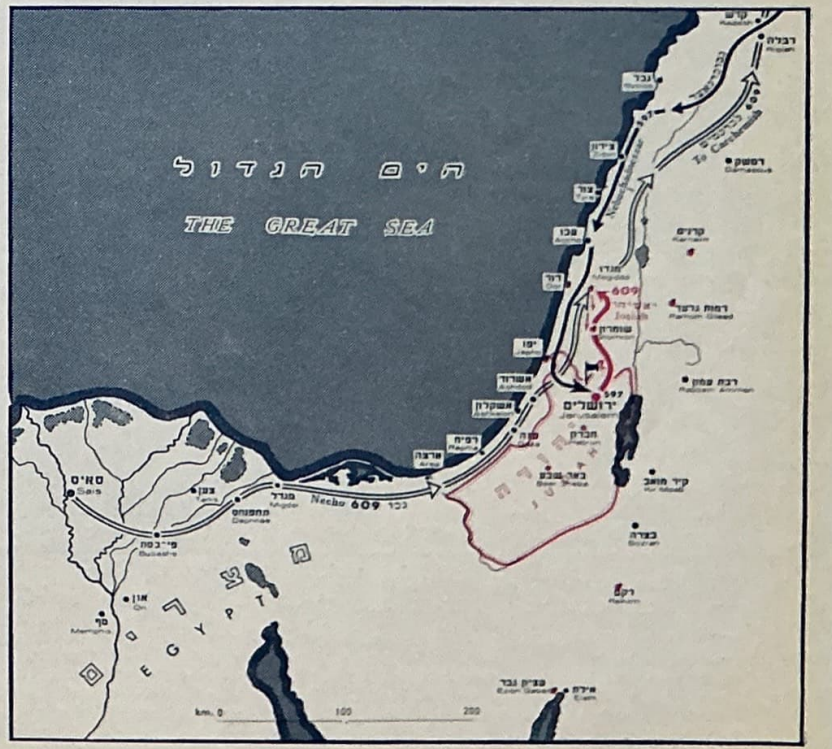
[1] 2 Kings 18, *11*; [2] ib. 17, *24*; [3] ib. *28*; [4] ib. *41*; [5] 2 Chron. 31, *1*; [6] ib 34, *3*; *6*; [7] Ezra 4, *2*; *9-10*.

CAPTIVE WOMEN LEAVING FOR EXILE
(after a relief from Sennacherib's palace, found at Nineveh).

25. JUDAH IN THE CONFLICT OF ASSYRIA AND EGYPT WITH BABYLONIA 609 — 597

AFTER the destruction of Nineveh (612) the Assyrians continued to make war with Babylon in the Euphrates region, and Egypt helped them. Josiah king of Judah was an ally of the King of Babylon, and in 609 "Pharaoh Nechoh king of Egypt went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates: and king Josiah went against him; and he slew him at Megiddo, when he had seen him"[1]. Herodotus tells us of this event "he (Nechoh) also made war by land upon the Syrians, and defeated them at a pitched battle near Magdolus (=Megiddo)" (Book II, 159). "And Pharaoh Nechoh made Eliakim the son of Josiah king in the room of Josiah his father, and turned his name to Jehoiakim"[2]. ■ "IN his days Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years; then he turned and rebelled against him. And the Lord sent against him bands of the Chaldees, and bands of the Arameans, and bands of the Moabites, and bands of the children of Ammon, and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by his servants the prophets"[3]. "And the king of Egypt came not any more out of his land: for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the King of Egypt"[4]. ■ IN the beginning of the reign of Jehoiachin son of Jehoiakim (597), "the servants of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up against Jerusalem, and the city was besieged. And Nebuchadnezzar... came against the city... And Jehoiachin the king of Judah went out to the king of Babylon... And he carried away Jehoiachin to Babylon... And the king of Babylon made... king... Zedekiah"[5]. Babylon had replaced Assyria and Egypt. "And the pride of Assyria shall be brought down, and the sceptre of Egypt shall depart away"[6].

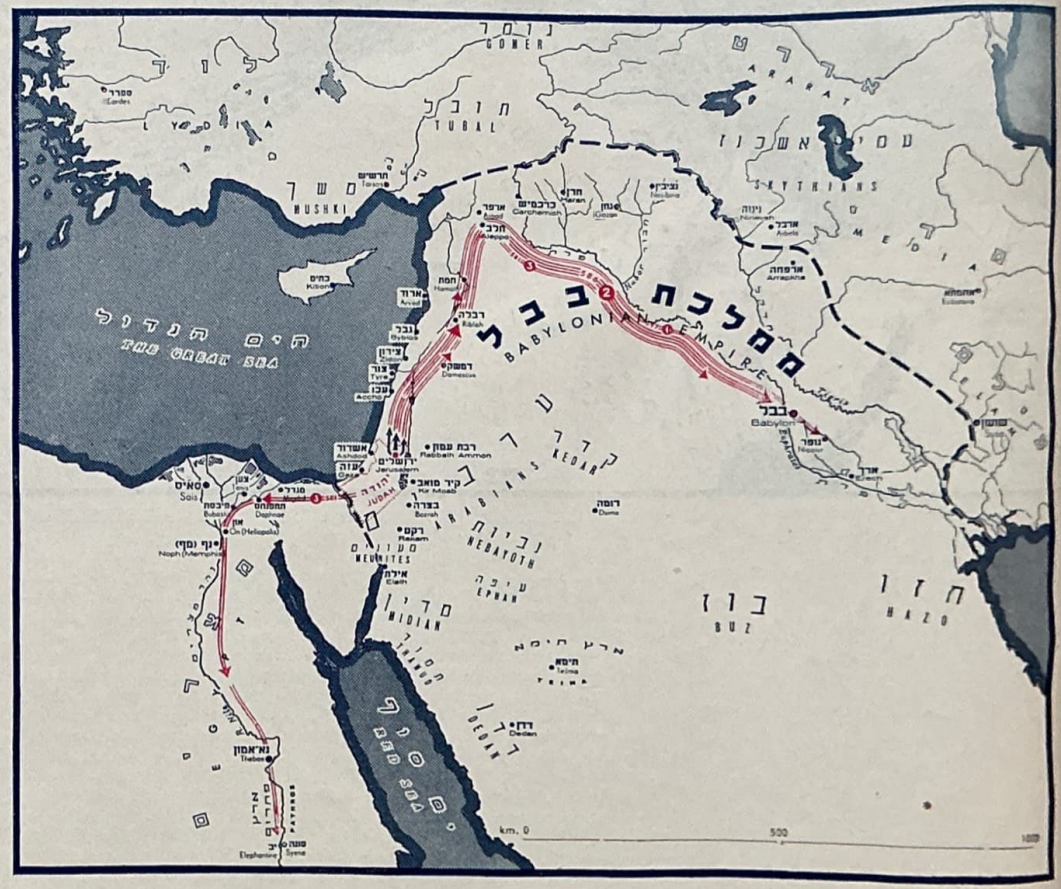
[1] 2 Kings 23, *29*; [2] ib. *34*; [3] ib. 24, *1-2*; [4] ib. 7; [5] ib. *10-12*; *15*; *17*; [6] Zechar. 10, *11*.



ADAD, THE ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN GOD OF THE STORM
(on a relief from Calah)

PRISONERS OF WAR CARRYING LOADS
(after an Assyrian relief)

27. THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY 597 — 538



26. THE CAMPAIGN OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR AND THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM 588 — 586 — 581

IN the days of Zedekiah a movement of revolt against Nebuchadnezzar spread in Judah and the exiles in Babylonia entertained hopes of a speedy delivery. The prophecies of Jeremiah and his repeated warnings to king and people were of no avail. Zedekiah "humbled not himself before Jeremiah the prophet... And he also rebelled against king Nebuchadnezzar"[1]. Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon went out to suppress the rebellion of Zedekiah and to make war on his ally, Hophrah king of Egypt (588). The Babylonian army marched along the high-road, passed Northern and Central Palestine continuing southwards towards the Egyptian army. From the coastal plain Nebuchadnezzar sent troops into Judah. "The cities of the south" were shut up and the fortresses were besieged[2]. "When the king of Babylon's army fought against Jerusalem, and against all the cities of Judah that were left, against Lachish, and against Azekah: for these defenced cities remained of the cities of Judah"[3]. The garrisons were isolated and cut off from all succour. "We are watching for the signal-stations of Lachish, because we cannot see [the signals of] Azekah" (from one of the Hebrew ostraca found at Lachish). ■ PHARAOH'S army returned to Egypt[4]. Judah was conquered. Jerusalem fell, after sustaining a siege for two years, and was destroyed by fire. "Nebuzar-adan, captain of the guard, a servant of the king of Babylon... burnt the house of the Lord, and the king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem"[5] (586). ■ MANY of the inhabitants were deported to Babylonia, many fled to their brethren in the neighbouring countries, and the King and his officers were brought to the king of Babylon to Riblah in the land of Hamath[6]. Only the poor of the land remained in Judah whom "the captain of the guard left... to be vinedressers and husbandmen"[7]. "And as for the people that remained in the land of Judah, whom Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon had left... he made Gedaliah the son of Ahikam... ruler... And when all the captains

BABYLON IN ITS MIGHT * THE DESTRUCTION AND EXILE OF JUDAH

597--538 B.C.

27. THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY 597 — 538

IN the year 597 Nebuchadnezzar exiled Jehoiachin King of Judah to Babylon. "And he carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths: none remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land"[1]. Among the exiles was also the prophet Ezekiel the son of Buzi. The exiles settled by the river Chebar and founded the settlements of Tel Abib, Tel Melah etc.[2]. Some years later (586, 581) many more Judeans joined the exiles, those whom "Nebuzar-adan the captain of the guard carried away"[3]. "By the rivers of Babylon" grew and developed a Jewish population which kept alive its national and religious entity. ▪ A remnant of the survivors went to Egypt (581): "But Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the captains of the forces, took all the remnant of Judah, that were returned from all nations, whither they had been driven, to dwell in the land of Judah... and Jeremiah the prophet... So they came unto the land of Egypt"[4]. The Jews settled "at Migdol, and at Tahpanhes, and at Noph, and in the country of Pathros"[5]. The prophet bewails the captivity of his country: "Judah is gone into captivity because of affliction, and because of great servitude: she dwelleth among the heathen, she findeth no rest: all her persecutors overtook her between the straits"[6].

[1] 2 Kings 24, *14*; [2] Ezek.3, *15*; Ezra 2, *59*; [3] Jerem.52, *15*; *29-30*; [4] ib.43, *5-7*; [5] ib.44, *1*; [6] Lament.1, *3*.

of the armies, they and their men, heard... [they] came to Gedaliah to Mizpah"[8]. "Now it came to pass... that Ishmael... of the seed royal... came unto Gedaliah... to Mizpah... and slew him"[9] (581). ▪ THE Edomites afflicted the people of Judah in their distress[10] and took over their possessions in the South. "Remember, O Lord, the children of Edom in the day of Jerusalem; who said, Rase it, Rase it, even to the foundation thereof"[11].

[1] 2 Chron.36, *12-13*; [2] Jerem.13, *19*; [3] ib.34, 7; [4] ib. 37, 7; [5] 2 Kings 25, *8-9*; [6] ib.*20*; Jerem.39; [7] 2 Kings 25, *18*; [8] ib.*22-23*; [9] Jerem.41, *1-2*; [10] Obad. *10-14*; Ezek. 25, *12*; [11] Ps. 137, 7.

THE enthronement of Zedekiah son of Josiah through Nebuchadnezzar increased the influence of the party which was ready to submit peacefully to Babylon. This party included such men as Gedaliah son of Ahikam, a most influential official, and Jeremiah the prophet. Yet at the instigation of Pharaoh unrest continued throughout Palestine and Phoenicia; the pro-Egyptian party in Judah spread the spirit of revolt and at last Zedekiah ceased sending tribute to Babylon. In 588 Nebuchadnezzar sent his armies to fight Egypt and its allies. The Egyptian army came out to meet him in the coastal plain of Southern Palestine. In the end, however, the Egyptians avoided battle and the armies of Babylon invaded Judah on a punitive expedition. In vain did the king of Judah count on the support of the "broken reed" Egypt. The country was devastated, its cities destroyed, and its fortresses captured one by one. After a long siege Jerusalem succumbed; city and temple perished in one conflagration (586). The fate of the two kingdoms, Israel and Judah, found expression in the words (Jeremiah, L, 17): "Israel is a scattered sheep; the lions have driven him away: first the king of Assyria hath devoured him; and last this Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon hath broken his bones." ¶ Judah now became a Babylonian district, and Gedaliah son of Ahikam was set over it. Within a short time he was assassinated by a relative of the exiled royal family. Many of the people and the leaders fled to Egypt, fearing the vengeance of the Chaldeans; while others who stayed in Judah were deported to Babylon (581). ¶ The fate of the Judaeans exiled by Nebuchadnezzar in 597, 586 and 581 differed fundamentaly from that of "the Ten Tribes". The bulk of the people of Judah were settled "by the rivers of Babylon", mostly in the district of Nippur. They continued to live their own religious and national life, separated from the surrounding peoples. The prophets of the exile proclaimed the imminent redemption of the House of Israel and of the House of Judah, and their reunion in the homeland: "And I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king to them all; and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all" (Ezekiel, xxxvii, 22). ¶ The exiles founded villages in Southern Babylonia, and most of them engaged in agriculture. Their position improved under Evil-Merodach son of Nebuchadnezzar. He released Jehoiachin from prison (560) and treated him with consideration. By then many of the exiles had left the places to which they at first been confined and had spread far and wide throughout the Babylonian Empire and beyond its frontiers. They settled in the cities and established communities as far as Susa, the capital of Elam, Media and even western Asia Minor; "the captivity of Jerusalem, which is in Sepharad" /Sardis/ (Obadiah, 20). ¶ The Diaspora in Egypt consisted largely of those Jews who had fled from Judah after the destruction of the Temple, and in particular after the murder of Gedaliah. Jeremiah the prophet was among them. Most of the exiles settled in the border districts, in the surroundings of Daphne and in the land of Pathros. In this way all Judah was scattered through lands both far and near. ¶ In the meantime the neighbouring peoples: Ammon, Moab, Edom, the Philistines and the Phoenicians, did not neglect the opportunity of benefiting from the calamities of Israel and Judah. They "inherited" extensive areas of its land. However, a remnant of Israel and Judah still stayed in Palestine. In the course of time they multiplied and once again became a factor in the re-settlement of the exiled Jews in their own country. But on the whole, the land of Judah was depopulated and remained in its waste and desolate state for over forty years. ¶

THE RISE OF PERSIA * JUDAH REVIVES AS A NATION

538--458 B.C.

THE rise of Persia in the middle of the sixth century B.C. was a decisive event in the history of Western Asia. Cyrus king of Persia conquered Media, the greater part of Asia Minor and the whole of Babylonia, founding a new, vast and stable empire. "All the kings who dwelt in palaces from all the regions of the world, from the Upper Sea unto the Lower Sea... and the kings of the land of the Amorites (the West) who dwell in tents, all of them brought me heavy tribute and kissed my feet at Babylon" (Cyrus' Akkadian clay-cylinder). His victories aroused great expectations among the vanquished and dispersed nation. The prophets of the exile regarded Cyrus as the Anointed of the Lord, come to redeem the Jews and to return them to their homes. ¶ And indeed in 538 Cyrus issued a proclamation to the Jews of his Empire, inviting them to return to Jerusalem and allowing them to rebuild their Temple. Those returning were led by Sheshbazzar "the prince of Judah". When they reached Palestine in 537 they found Jerusalem desolate and forsaken, with an impoverished remnant of the Jewish population dwelling in its vicinity. The Edomites had occupied the southern, and the Ashdodites (Philistines) the south-western part of the Land of Judah. As for the Israelites who had remained in Samaria, they were undergoing a process of coalescence with the foreign colonists who had been settled in their midst by the kings of Assyria. All these neighbours viewed with disfavour the return of the Jews to Jerusalem and tried to hinder their work as far as possible. Finally they succeeded and the building activity was stopped. ¶ In the reign of Darius I (521-485) king of Persia new hopes were awakened in Jerusalem and the Diaspora alike. In 521 the king appointed Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, of the House of David, governor of Judah. Together with him 42,360 persons returned to Jerusalem, including many members of the priesthood and of noble families. As soon as they had reached Jerusalem, they began the rebuilding of the city and re-erected an altar on the Temple Mount (520). Zerubbabel and the High Priest Joshua, son of Josedech, of the House of Zadok, began the rebuilding of the Temple, encouraged in their work by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah. In 519 the obstacles put in their way by the "adversaries of Judah and Benjamin" were removed by order of Darius. ¶ Nevertheless the great hopes which the returned exiles placed in Zerubabbel were doomed to disappointment. The opponents of the Jews continued to weave their plots and found their opportunity during a period of revolts against the Persian Empire. Zerubbabel suddenly vanished from the scene, possibly swept away in the great rebellion against Darius, which spread from the Euphrates to the Nile Valley and which was put an end to in 518, when the king himself marched into Egypt. The governors after Zerubbabel, during the interval between Zerubbabel and Nehemiah, were Persians. The Jewish commonwealth assumed a theocratic constitution under a group of priests and "nobles of Judah", headed by the High Priest. ¶

28. THE EMPIRE OF PERSIA, THE DIASPORA AND THE RETURN 538—333

IN the year 539 Cyrus king of Persia and Media conquered all the Kingdom of Babylon. In the days of his successors the boundaries of Persia were extended: Egypt too became part of its empire. So the dominions of Persia extended "from India even unto Ethiopia (Kush), an hundred and seven and twenty provinces"[1]. In order to place the collection of tribute on an orderly footing Darius I divided the empire into "twenty governments of the kind which the Persians call satrapies... and fixing the tribute to be paid by the several nations" (Herodotus, iii, 89: the "one hundred and twenty provinces" which are mentioned by Daniel, vi, 1 refer to 'districts'. Every satrapy consisted of several such districts). Judah, Samaria, Ashdod and the "rest that are on this side (of) the river" (in Aramaic: Abar-Nahara, Ezra, iv, 10)[2] were part of the Fifth Satrapy, which included Cyprus as well. ▪ IN the Persian period the Jewish diaspora extended more and more; we read of "all the Jews that were in all the provinces of the King Ahasuerus, both nigh and far... And many of the people of the land became Jews"[3]. However, the centres of the diaspora remained — excepting Susa the capital city — as before in Egypt and Babylonia. "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts; one shall be called, the city of destruction"[4]. In both countries the proclamation of Cyrus (538) and the First and Second Return made a deep impression. "And I will sow them among the people: and they shall remember me in far countries; and they shall live with their children, and turn again. I will bring them again also out of the land of Egypt, and gather them out of Assyria"[5]. ▪ THERE was much hope that the exiles would also return from Upper Egypt, the land of Pathros, from Syene (=Sinim)[6] and Yeb (=Elephantine), where there were garrisons of Jewish soldiers in the service of Egypt. "Behold, these shall come from far: and lo, these from the north and from the west: and these from the land of Sinim"[7]. These expectations were disappointed. Most of those returning came from Babylonia, especially from the neighbourhood of Nippur, "from Tel Melah, Tel Harsa, Cherub, Addan and Immer"[8] and others. Babylonian documents discovered at Nippur confirm that this region contained a large Jewish population.

[1] Esther 1, *1*; [2] Ezra 8, *36 etc.*; [3] Esther 9, *20*; 8, *17*; [4] Isaiah 19, *18*; [5] Zechar.10, *9-10*; [6] Ezek.29, *14*; [7] Isaiah 49, *14*; [8] Ezra 2, *59*.

28. **THE EMPIRE OF PERSIA. THE DIASPORA AND THE RETURN 538 — 333**

The inset design shows:
THE SYMBOL OF THE ACHAEMENIDS, THE ROYAL HOUSE OF PERSIA
(after a relief from the palace at Persepolis)

29. **THE "REMNANT THAT WAS LEFT" AND THE BEGINNING OF THE RETURN TO ZION 538 — 515**

THE victories of Cyrus king of Persia and the fall of Babylon (539) awakened among the exiles hopes of delivery and revival. "That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid"[1]. "Now in the first year of Cyrus... the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus... that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying: Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, All the kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord God of heaven given me; and he hath charged me to build him an house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? The Lord his God be with him, and let him go up"[2]. "Then rose up the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests, and the Levites, with all them whose spirit God has raised, to go up to build the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem. And all they that were about them strengthened their hands... Also Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of the Lord, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem... and numbered them unto Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah... All these did Sheshbazzar bring up with them of the captivity that were brought up from Babylon unto Jerusalem"[3]. All this seemed like a dream to those returning to Zion. "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream. Then was our mouth

filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing"[4]. "Then the people of the land weakened the hands of the people of Judah, and troubled them in building. And hired counsellors against them, to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus... even until the reign of Darius"[5]. ■ AFTER the First Return in the days of Cyrus, came the Second Return in the reign of Darius I. "Now these are the children of the province that went up out of the captivity... and came again unto Jerusalem and Judah, every one unto his city; Which came with Zerubabbel: Jeshua... the number of the men of the people of Israel... The whole congregation together was forty and two thousand three hundred and threescore"[6]. "And the Lord stirred up the spirit of Zerubabbel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and the spirit of Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest, and the spirit of all the remnant of the people; and they came and did work in the house of the Lord... in the second year of Darius the king"[7]. "And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king"[8], i. e. 515 B.C.

[1] Isaiah 44, 28; [2] 2 Chron. 36, 22-23; Ezra 1, 1-3; [3] Ezra 1, 5-11; [4] Ps. 126, 1-2; [5] Ezra 4, 4-5; [6] ib. 2, 1-2; Neh. 7, 7; [7] Ezra 2, 64; Neh. 7, 66; [8] Haggai 1, 14-15; [9] Ezra 6, 15.

הוא עזרא עלה מבבל והוא ספר מהיר בתורת משה

This Ezra went up from Babylon; and he was a ready scribe in the law of Moses

30. GROWTH AND EXPANSION — FROM THE DAYS OF EZRA AND NEHEMIA TO THE CONQUEST BY ALEXANDER THE GREAT

458 — 333

IN the year 458 Ezra the priest and scribe went up to Jerusalem, and in his hand the "nishtevan" (document) from the King of Persia authorizing him "to teach in Israel statutes and judgments". And this is the story of the Third Return: "...This Ezra went up from Babylon; and he was a ready scribe in the law of Moses... and there went up some of the children of Israel, and of the priests... unto Jerusalem, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes the king"[1]. "And they delivered the king's commission unto the king's lieutenants, and to the governors on this side the river (Abar-Nahara); and they furthered the people, and the house of God"[2]. The chiefs of the people complained before Ezra: "The people of Israel, and the priests, and the Levites, have not separated themselves from the people of the lands... yea, the hand of the princes and rulers hath been chief in this trespass"[3]. Ezra tried to reform the situation, but the "people of the land" and especially the Samaritans and their allies among the "nobles of Judah" stood up against him and committed many hostile acts. In the twentieth year of Artaxerxes (445) men of Judah came to Susa and brought evil tidings to Nehemiah, a high official at the King's court, saying: "The remnant that are left of the captivity there in the province are in great affliction and reproach: the wall of Jerusalem also is broken down, and the gates thereof are burned with fire"[4]. The King granted Nehemia's request and sent him to rebuild the ruins of Jerusalem, and with him went "captains of the army and horsemen"[5]. Upon his arrival at Jerusalem, Nehemiah at once set about his task: "So built we the wall; and all the wall was joined together unto the half thereof: for the people had a mind to work"[6]. "But it came to pass, that when Sanballat, and Tobiah, and the Arabians, and the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites, heard that the walls of Jerusalem were made up... they... conspired all of them together to come and fight against Jerusalem"[7]. Nehemiah armed the workmen and continued to build. "They which builded on the wall, and they that bare burdens, with those that laded, every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon"[8]. "So the wall was finished... in fifty and two days. And it came to pass, that when all our enemies heard thereof... they were much cast down in their own eyes"[9]. "And the rulers of the people dwelt at Jerusalem: the rest of the people also cast lots, to bring one of ten to dwell in Jerusalem the holy city..." The children of Judah lived in cities and in "the villages with their fields". "And they dwelt from Beer-Sheba unto the valley of Hinnom"; and the children of Benjamin dwelt north of Jerusalem, in the valley of Jordan and in the plain of Lod and Ono[10]. ■ AFTER twelve years Nehemiah returned to the King's court: "and after certain days obtained I leave of the king: And I came to Jerusalem"[11]. "In those days also I saw Jews that had married wives of Ashdod, of Ammon, and of Moab: And their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews' language... And I contented with them... Thus cleansed I them from all strangers"[12]. ■ AFTER the days of Nehemiah the Jews lived in peace and security under the protection of the Kings of Persia, though they were oppressed by heavy taxation. The inhabitants of the province of Judah kept intact their national and religious unity. In the course of time the autonomy of Judah was strengthened and enlarged and "the High Priest among his brethren" became the leader of his people and the First in Zion. Jerusalem became again the true centre of the Land of Israel and of the Diaspora and many pilgrims from all corners of the world began to come to the Holy City and to pray in the Temple for its peace: "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love thee"[13].

[1] Ezra 7, *6-7*; *9*; [2] ib. 8, *36*; [3] ib.9, *1-2*; *4*; [4] Neh.1, *3*; [5] ib.2, *9*; [6] ib.4, *6*; [7] ib.4, 7-8 (*1-2*); [8] ib.17 (*11*); [9] ib.6, *15-16*; [10] ib.11; [11] ib.13, *6-7*; [12] ib.13, *23-26*; *30*; [13] Ps.122, *6*.

JUDAH UNDER PERSIAN RULE 458–333 B.C.

DURING the reigns of Darius and his successors the Jewish community in Palestine grew. It expanded from its centre in the small province of Judah to the east, south and west. In the province of Ammon beyond the Jordan a region settled by Jews came into being, under the protection of the governors of the House of Tobiah, who themselves were Jews. Other settlers flowed into southern Judah and into the coastal plain, area previously held by the Edomites and the Ashdodites. The Jews took possession of many towns and villages and absorbed again the remnants of the Jewish population who had not gone into exile. ¶ While the Jewish settlement expanded in area, its political and social structure, and even its moral fibre, were seriously weakened. Mixed marriages undermined national and religious principles. The tillers of the soil were oppressed by a heavy burden of taxation; many were deprived of their land. Large estates began to be concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy families, while the bulk of the nation became a landless mass. A handful of officials and nobles, profiting from the suffering of the multitude, monopolized all the important positions in Judah and in the neighbouring provinces of Samaria and Ammon. ¶ In the days of Artaxerxes I (465-424) there was a change for the better. In 458 Ezra the Scribe came from Babylon with an entire new group of settlers. He bore with him an authorisation from the king empowering him to enforce the laws of the Torah and to make them the foundation of the political and social organization of the Jewish community. Ezra devoted himself to the strengthening of the chain of tradition and to the removing of all foreign influences upon his people. His activities aroused some opposition amongst the local population, who viewed with disfavour the national and religious separatism of Judah and who regarded Ezra's work as a peril to their own existence. During a period of fresh disturbances in Egypt and in the Persian provinces beyond the Euphrates (Abar-Nahara) the governors of the neighbouring provinces, many influential Samaritans and other enemies of Judah, found a suitable occasion to revenge themselves upon Jrusalem and to slight its walls ¶ In 445 Nehemiah was appointed governor of Judah by Artaxerxes I. He began by rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. Some nobles of Judah plotted against him together with their allies from the surrounding provinces, led by Tobiah, governor of Ammon, and Sanballat, governor of Samaria. With much wisdom and energy Nehemiah succeeded in foiling the knavish tricks of his foes. The walls were completed. Jerusalem once more became a populous city, the heart and stronghold of the Jewish commonwealth. ¶ Nehemiah remained governor of Judah for twelve years, during which time he introduced important communal and economic legislation. He annexed a number of districts from the surrounding provinces, which contained Jewish populations. Following Ezra the Scribe he promoted the political, national and religious unity of Judah. The reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, enacted in the spirit of the Law of Moses, took root among the nation and set their stamp on its subsequent history. Special privileges, particularly that of coining money, raised the political status of the province of Judah within the Empire. ¶ Nehemiah returned to the king's court in 433. In his absence the influence of his opponents again began to prevail under cover of the authority of the High Priest Eliashib. Tobiah "the Ammonite" became powerful and the whole achievement of Ezra and Nehemiah seemed in danger. Nehemiah returned in haste to Jerusalem and resumed his work, eliminating the elements foreign to the Jewish community. He continued his task until his mission was successfully completed.

AFTER Nehemiah the governorship of Judah was again entrusted to Persian officials. As a result the spiritual and political leadership of the Jewish people passed to the priests of the House of Zadok. With the gradual decay of the central authority in the Persian Empire they became semi-independent rulers. Palestine had a long period of peaceful development. Judah flourished. ¶ In the days of Artaxerxes III (359-337) many crises and revolts shook the Persian Empire. The Jews participated in these events and many of them were exiled to Hyrcania, south-east of the Caspian Sea. Nevertheless the order that prevailed in Judah does not seem to have been appreciably disturbed. ¶ The paths of Samaria and Judah finally separated. Samaria developed into a national and religious entity distinct from Judah. The opposition of the Samaritans to Jerusalem increased and and with it grew the belief in the sacred nature of Shechem and Mount Gerizim. In the course of time these holy places became the centres of Samaritan worship. The erection of a rival temple on Mount Gerizim completed the rift. ¶ After over two centuries of Persian rule Judah, together with the rest of the Empire, fell into the hands of Alexander the Great and became a part of his vast dominions (333-332 B.C.). ¶

Sites in Ancient Palestine with their Identifications

In the transcription of ancient names we have in general followed the Authorised Version of the O.T. In case of place-names taken from other sources and which do not occur in the O.T. (these have been marked by an asterisk *) we have either assimilated them to the usual transcription of Biblical names in the A.V. (e. g. Yâsît is written Jazith) or we have followed the current classical spelling (e. g. Raphia).

The modern Arabic place names are given in a simplified spelling, in order to enable the general reader to pronounce them. No diacritical marks are used (except ' for the guttural 'ayin), and no differentiating signs for long and short vowels. The duplication of certain letters has been observed as a rule, except where it would make pronounciation very difficult, e. g. Tell el-Fukhar for Tell el-Fukh-khâr (Fuhhâr).

ABBREVIATIONS: *Ass.* — Assyrian documents; *E.A.* — El-Amarna letters; *Eg.* — Egyptian documents; *Gr.* — Greek literature; *Me.* — Mesha inscription ("Moabite Stone"). *Kh.* — Khirbet; *n.* — near.

A

Abdon	*Kh. 'Abde*
*Abel in Manasseh	*Tell Abil*
Abel Beth Maachah	*Tell Abil el-Qamh*
Abel Keramim	*Na'ur?*
Abel Meholah	*Tell Abu Sifri?*
Abel Shittim; Abel; Hashittim	*Tell Kafrein*
Accho	*Tell el-Fukhar n. modern Acre*
Achshaf	*Tell Harbaj?*
Achzib; *Gr.* Ekdippa n. Acre	*Ez-Zib*
Achzib; Chezib in Judah	*Tell el-Beida?*
Adamah; Adam	*Tell ed-Damiye*
Adami; Adamah in Galilee	*Kh. ed-Damiye*
*Adar?	*'Atlit?*
Adithaim	*El-Hadithe?*
Adoraim	*Dura*
Adullam	*Sheikh Madhkur ('Id el-Ma)*
Ai; Haai	*Et-Tell*
Ai; Aiath s. Avim	
Aijalon in Dan	*Yalu*
Aijalon in Galilee	*Kh. el-Lon?*
*Akrabah	*'Aqrabe*
*Almathon	*Immatin*
Almon; Alemeth	*Kh. 'Almit*
Almon; -Diblathaim	*Kh. Libb?*
Aloth	*Ma'lya?*
Anab	*Kh. 'Anab*
Anaharath	*En-Na'ura*
Ananiah	*El-'Azariye (Bethania)*
Anatoth	*Ras el-Kharrube n. 'Anata*
Anim	*Kh. Ghuwein et-Tahta*
Aphek; Aphik in Asher	*Tell Kurdane*
Aphek in Golan	*Fiq*
Aphek in the Sharon	*Ras el-'Ein*
Arad	*Tell 'Arad*
Ararah; Aroer in the Negeb	*'Ar'ara*
Aroer in Ammon	*Es-Suweiwine?*
Aroer in Reuben	*'Ara'ir*
*Aron (*Eg.* 'Aruna)	*Tell Wadi 'Ara*
*Arsa	*El-'Arish?*
Aruboth	*Tell el-Asawir*
Arumah in Ephraim	*Beit Rima?*
*Arumah (*Ass.* Aruma); Rumah in Galilee	*Kh. Rume*
Ashan; Bor Ashan	*Kh. 'Asan*
Ashdod	*Isdud*
*Ashdod-Jam (*Ass.* Asdudimma)	*Minet el-Qal'a*
Asher	*Tayasir*
Ashkelon	*'Asqalan*
Ashtaroth; Beeshtrah	*Tell 'Ashtara*
Ataroth; Atroth Adar in Benjamin	*Kh. 'Attara?*
Ataroth in Ephraim	*Tell Sheikh edh-Dhiyab?*
Ataroth in Moab	*'Atarus?*
Avim (later Ai; Aiath)	*Kh. Hayyan?*
*Azah	*Zawata*
Azekah	*Tell Zakariye*
Azmaveth s. Beth Azmaveth	
Azmon	*Quseime?*
*Azor; *Ass.* Azuru	*Yazur*
Azzah s. Gaza	

B

Baal Gad	*Hasbeia?*
Baal Hazor	*Jebel el-'Asur*
Baal Meon; Beth Baal Meon, *Me.* Beth Meon	*Ma'in*
Baal Shalisha	*Kafr Thilth?*
Bamoth Baal; Bamoth. *Me.* Beth Bamoth	*Zeinab?*
Beer in Issachar	*El-Bire*
Beer in Reuben	*in Wadi Themed*
Beeroth	*El-Bire n. Ramallah?*
Beer-Sheba	*Tell es-Saba'*
Bene Brak	*El-Kheiriye (Ibn Ibraq)*
Beten	*Abtun*
Beth Anath	*El-Bi'ne*
Beth Anoth	*Beit 'Einun*
Beth Arbel	*Irbid*
Beth Azmaveth; Azmaveth	*Hizma*
Beth Dagon	*Dajjun?*
Beth Diblathaim *Me.* Beth Diblathan	*Deleilat el-Gharbiye?*
*Beth Eglaim	*Tell 'Ajjul*
Beth Eked	*Beit Qad*
Beth Ezel	*Deir el-'Asl*
Beth Gamul s. Gilgal	*Kh. el-Jemeil*
Beth Gilgal s. Gilgal	
Beth Hacherem	*Jebel el-Fureidis (Herodium)*
Beth Haemek	*Tell Mimas n. 'Amqa*
Beth Hajeshimoth	*Suweine*
Beth Hanan	*Beit 'Anan*
Beth Haram; Beth Haran	*Er-Rame*
Beth Hashittah	*Shatta*
Beth Hoglah	*Deir Hajla*
Beth Horon, Upper	*Beit 'Ur el-Foqa*
Beth Horon, Lower	*Beit 'Ur et-Tahta*
Beth Lehem in Galilee	*Beit Lahm*
Beth Lehem in Judah	*Bethlehem (Beit Lahm)*
Beth Nimrah; Nimrah	*Tell Nimrin*
Beth Pelet	*Tell el-Meshash??*
Beth Rehob; Rehob	*Banias??*
Beth Shean; Betshan	*Tell el-Husn n. modern Beisan*
Beth Shemesh in Naphtali	*El-'Abeidiye?*
Beth Shemesh; Ir Shemesh; Har Heres	*Tell er-Rumeile ('Ein Shems)*
Beth Tappuah; Tappuah in Judah	*Taffuh*
*Beth Zippor (*Ass.* Bit-Supuri)	*Tell Buraq*
Beth Zur	*Kh. et-Tubeiqe*
*Bether	*Kh. el-Yahud (Bittir)*
Betonim	*Kh. Batne*
Be-Zaanannim	*Kh. Bessum?*
Bezek	*Kh. Ibziq*
Bezer; Bozrah in Reuben	*Umm el-'Amad?*
*Bozrah; *Bezer in Manasseh	*Busra eski-Sham*
Bozrah in Edom	*Buseira*

C

Cabul	*Kabul*
Carmel in Judah	*Kh. el-Kirmil*
Chephira	*Tell Kefire*
*Cherem	*'Ein Karim*
Chesulloth; Chisloth Tabor	*Iksal*
Chinnereth	*Tell el-'Ureime*
Chislon	*Kasla*
*Chochab (*Ass.* Kukaba)	*Kokab*
Chozebah	*Kh. Kuweizibe*

D

Daberath	*Dabburiye*
Dan; Laish; Leshem	*Tell el-Qadi*
Debir; Kirjath Sepher	*Tell Beit Mirsim?*
Dibon	*Dhiban*
Dilean	*Tell Nejile?*
Dimon s. Madmen	
Dor	*Burj et-Tantura*
Dothan; Dothain	*Tell Dothan*
Dumah	*Ed-Dume*

E

Ebronah	*'Ein ed-Defiye?*
Eder	*Kh. el-'Adar?*
Edrei	*Dera'*
Eglaim	*Kh. en-Naqqas??*
Eglon	*Tell el-Hesi?*
Ekron	*'Aqir?*
Eleasah	*Kh. el-'Ashi?*
Elath	*'Aqaba*
*E[la]th Paran	*Far'un*
Elealeh	*El-'Al*
Eltekeh; *Ass.* Altaku	*Tell el-Muqanna'*
Eltekon	*Kh. ed-Deir n. 'Ein et-Taqa*
En Dor	*Indur*
En Eglaim	*'Ein Feshkha?*
En Gannim; Ginath	*Jenin*
En Gedi	*Tell el-Jurn ('Ein Jidi)*
En Haddah	*El-Hadithe*
En Harod	*'Ein Jalud*
En Rimmon; Rimmon	*Kh. Umm Rammamin*
Eshtaol	*'Ishwa*
Eshtemoa	*Es-Samu'*
Etam	*Kh. el-Khokh n. 'Ein 'Atan*
Ezem	*Kh. Umm 'Adem*
Ezion Geber	*Tell el-Kheleife*

G

*Galil	*Jelil*
Gallim	*Jiliya?*
Gath in the Shephelah	*Tell 'Iraq el-Menshiye*
*Gath; *Gath Carmel in the Sharon (*E.A.* Ginti Kirmil)	*Jatt*
Gath Hepher	*Kh. ez-Zurra' n. Mesh*
Gath Rimmon in Manasseh	*Rummane*
Gath Rimmon in Dan	*Tell Abu Zeitun?*
Gaza; Azzah	*Gaza (Ghazze)*
*Geba in Manasseh	*Jaba'*
Geba in Ephraim	*et-Tell*
Geba in Benjamin	*Jaba'*
Gederoth; Gederah	*Qatra?*
Gedor in Judah	*Tell Jedur*
*Gedor; *Gr.* Gadara in Gilead	*Tell Jedur*
Gerar	*Tell Jemme?*
Gezer	*Tell Jezar*
Gibbethon	*Tell el-Melat?*
Gibeah; Gibeath Saul	*Tell el-Ful*
Gibeah in Judah	*Jaba'*
Gibeon	*El-Jib*
Gilboa	*Jelbun*
Gilead s. Ramoth Gilead	
Gilgal; Beth- n. Jericho	*Jaljulye??*
Gilgal in Ephraim	*Jaljulye?*
Gilgal n. Shechem	*Jaljulye*
Gilgal in the Sharon	*Jaljulye*
Gimzo	*Jimzu*
Gittaim	*Saqiye??*
Golan	*Sahm el-Jolan*

H

Hadid	*El-Hadithe*
Hali	*Tell el-'Ali?*
Halhul	*Halhul*
Ham	*Tell Ham*
*Hammath	*Tell el-Hamme*
Hammath; Hamoth Dor in Naphtali	*El-Hammam*

Hammon — *Umm el-'Awamid*
Hannathon — *Tell el-Bedewiye*
Hapharaim — *Et-Tayyibe?*
Harosheth — *Tell 'Amr?*
*Hatel — *Tell*
Hazar Adar — *El-Qudeis?*
*Hazeroth in Manasseh — *'Asiret el-Hatab*
Hazezon Tamar s. Tamar
Hazor — *Tell Waqqas (Tell el-Qedah)*
Hebron; Kirjath Arba — *Er-Rumeide (Hebron)*
Helam *Gr.* Alama — *'Alme*
Hepher — *Tell Ibshar?*
Heshbon — *Hesban*
Holon in Judah — *Kh. 'Alin?*
Holon in Reuben — *Kh. Teim?*
Hormah; Zephath — *Tell el-Milh?*
Horonaim — *El-'Iraq??*
Hosah — *Tell Rashidiye*
Hukkok — *Yaquq*
Hushah — *Kh. Husan*

I

Ibleam; Bileam — *Tell Bel'ame*
Ijon; Ajin — *Tell Dibbin (in Merj 'Ayyun)*
Ir Moab; Hair; Ar — *Kh. el-Medeiyine?*
Ir Nahash — *Kh. en-Nakhas?*

J

Jabesh Gilead; Jabesh — *Deir Halawe (above Wadi Yabis)*
Jabneel; Jabneh in the Shephelah — *Yibne*
Jabneel in Naphtali — *Kh. Yamma*
Jagur — *Tell Jûr?*
*Jaham — *Tell Yamma*
Jahazah; Jahaz — *Qasr ez-Za'feran?*
Janoah in Naphtali — *Tell en-Na'am?*
Janoah in Ephraim — *Yanuh*
*Janoam *E.A.* Inuamma — *Tell en-Na'am?*
Japhia — *Yafa*
Japho *Gr.* Ioppe — *Jaffa*
Jarmuth — *Kh. Yarmuk*
Jashub in Ephraim — *Yasuf*
*Jashub in the Sharon — *Kh. Kafr Sib*
Jattir — *Kh. 'Attir*
Jazer — *Tell el-Yadude?*
*Jazith — *Yasid*
Jehud — *Yahudiye*
Jericho — *Tell es-Sultan n. modern Jericho*
Jerusalem (pre Davidic); Jebus; Ir David — *The SE. hill of Jerusalem ("Ophel")*
Jeshanah — *Burj el-Isane*
Jeshua — *Tell es-Sa'iwe*
Jezreel in the Valley of Jezreel — *Zer'in*
Jezreel in Judah — *Turrame?*
Jireon *Ass.* Irruna — *Yarun*
Jithlah — *Beithul?*
Jokneam — *Tell Qeimun*
Jorkoam — *Tell Raqa'*
Jotbah *Gr.* Jotapata *Ass.* Iatbite — *Kh. Jefat*
Jotbatha in Edom — *Et-Taba?*
Juttah — *Yatta*

K

Kabzeel — *Kh. Hora?*
Kadesh Barnea; En Mishpath — *El-Qudeirat*
Kain; Hakain — *Kh. Yaqin*
Kamon — *Qam*
Kanah in Asher — *Qana*
*Kanah *Ass.* Qana in Zebulun — *Kh. Qana*
Karnaim *Ass.* Qarnini — *Sheikh Sa'ad*
Kartan; Kirjathaim — *Kh. el-Qureiye?*
Kedesh n. Megiddo — *Tell Abu Qudeis*
Kedesh in Naphtali — *Qadas*
Keilah — *Kh. Qila*
Kenath *Gr.* Kanata — *Qanawat*
Kir Moab; Kir Hareseth; Kir Heres — *Kerak*
Kirjathaim *Me.* Kirjathan — *Kh. el-Kureyat?*
Kirjath Huzoth — *El-'Aleyan?*
Kirjath Jearim; Kirjath Baalah; Baalah — *Deir el-Azhar (Qaryat el-'Inab)*
Kirjath Sepher s. Debir
Kishion — *Tell el-'Ajjul?*
*Kozo (Qosoh) — *Qusin*

L

Lachish — *Tell ed-Duweir*
Laish s. Dan
Laish; Laishah — *El-'Isawiye?*
Lebonah — *Lubban*
Libnah — *Tell es-Safi*
Lod *Gr.* Lydda — *Lidd*
Lo Dabar; Lidbir — *Umm ed-Dabar*

M

Madmen; Dimon — *Kh. Dimne*
Madmanah — *Umm Dimne?*
Madon — *Kh. Madin*
*Mahag — *Mahajje*
Mahanaim — *Kh. Mahne?*
*Makkad — *Tell Miqdad*
Makkedah — *Kh. el-Heishum?*
*Mamshath *Gr.* Mampsis — *Kurnub*
Manahat — *Maliha*
Maon — *Tell Ma'in*
Mareshah — *Tell Sandahanna*
Mattanah — *El-Medeiyine?*
Medeba — *Madaba*
Megiddo; Megiddon — *Tell el-Mutesellim*
*Meheleb; Ahlab; Helbah *Ass.* Mahalliba — *Kh. el-Mahalib*
Me-Nephtoah — *Lifta*
Mephaath — *Kh. Neifa'a?*
Merom *Ass.* Marum — *Meirun*
Meroz — *Kh. Marus??*
*Metuna — *Imtan*
Michmash; Michmas — *Mukhmas*
*Migdal in Ephraim — *Mejdel Bani Fadil*
Migdal Gad — *Kh. el-Mejdele*
Migdal El in Naphtali — *Mejdel*
Migron — *Tell Miryam?*
Minnith — *Umm el-Hanafish?*
Mishal; Mashal — *Tell Abu Huwam?*
Misrephoth Maim — *Kh. el-Musheirife*
Mizpah; Hamizpah in Benjamin — *Tell en-Nasbe*
Mizpah in Gilead — *Tell el-Masfa*
Moresheth Gath — *Tell el-Judeide?*
Mozah; Hamozah — *Qalunye*

N

Naamah — *Ni'ana?*
Naarath; Naarah; Naaran — *Duyuk*
Nahalal; Nahalol — *Ma'lul?*
*Naveh — *Nawa*
Neballat — *Beit Nabala*
Nebo in Reuben — *Kh. el-Mukhayyet*
Nephtoah s. Me-Nephtoah
Netophah — *Kh. Salih? n. Umm Tuba*
Nezib in Judah — *Kh. Nesib*
*Nezib in Bashan — *Nesib*
Nimrim — *Rujm en-Numeire*
Nob; Nebo in Benjamin — *Et-Tur?*

O

Ono — *Kafr 'Ana*
Ophrah in Manasseh — *Et-Tayyibe??*
Ophrah in Benjamin — *Et-Tayyibe*

P

Parah; Haparah — *Tell Fara*
*Pehel *Gr.* Pella — *Kh. Fahil*
Penuel; Peniel — *Tulul edh-Dhahab*
Pirathon — *Far'ata*
Punon; Pinon — *Feinan*

R

Rabbath Ammon; Rabbah — *'Amman*
Rakkath — *Tell Eqlatiye*
Rama; Haramah in Benjamin — *Er-Ram*
Rama; Haramah in Naphtali — *Er-Rame*
Ramath Mizpeh; Mizpeh Gilead — *es-Sar?*
Ramoth; Remeth; Jarmuth — *Kokab el-Hawa?*
Ramoth Gilead; Gilead — *El-Husn (-'Ajlun)*
*Raphia *Ass.* Rapihu — *Tell Rafah*
*Raphon — *Er-Rafe*
*Rashpon (*Ass.* Rashpuna) — *Arsuf*
*Regeb *Gr.* Ragaba — *Rajib*
Rehob s. Beth Rehob
Rehob in Asher — *Tell Gharbi?*
*Rehob n. Beth Shean — *Tell es-Sarim*
Rehob in Manasseh — *Rihab*
Rekem — *Umm el-Biyare n. Petra*
Rimmon; Sela Harimmon; En Rimmon — *Er-Rammun*
Rimmon; Rimmono in Zebulun — *Rummane*
Roglim — *Bersinya (Er-Rujli)*

S

Salchah — *Salkhad*
Samaria s. Shomron
Saphir (Shaphir) — *Sawafir esh-Sharqiye?*
Sarid (Shadud?) — *Tell Shedud*
Sela — *Es-Sela'*
Senaah — *Kh. 'Oja el-Foqa*
Shaalbim; Shaalbin — *Selbit*
Shahazimah — *Tell el-Muqarqash?*
Shalem — *Salim*
Sharon — *Saruna*
Sharuhen — *Tell el-Far'a*
Shechem — *Tell Balata*
Shichron — *Qubeibe??*
Shiloh — *Kh. Seilun*
Shimron — *Tell Semuniye*
Shomron; Shomrain *Gr.* Samaria — *Sebastiye*
Shunem — *Solem*
Sibmah; Sebam — *Qurn el-Kibsh?*
Sochoh in the Sharon — *Tell er-Ras (Shuweike)*
Sochoh in Judah — *Kh. 'Abad n. Kh. Shuweike*
*Sorek — *Tul Karm?*
Straton's Tower — *Qeisariye (Caesarea)*
Succoth — *Tell Deir 'Alla*

T

Taanach — *Tell Ti'innik*
Taanath Shiloh — *Kh. Ta'ne*
Tamar; Hazezon Tamar — *'Ein el-'Arus?*
Tappuah in Judah s. Beth Tappuah
Tappuah; En Tappuah in Ephraim — *Tell Sheikh Abu Zarad*
Tekoa — *Kh. et-Tequ'*
Tel s. Hatel
Teman — *Tawilan*
Thebez — *Tubas*
Thophel — *Et-Tafile?*
Timnah; Timnath-Serah; -Heres — *Kh. Tibne*
Timnah in Dan — *Kh. Tibne*
Tirzah — *Jemma'in??*
Tishbeh — *Lisdib (El-Istib)*
Tob — *Et-Tayyibe?*
Tyre; Tyros; Zor — *Sur*
*Tyros; *Zor in Gilead — *'Araq el-Emir*

Z

Zanoah in the Shephelah — *Kh. Zanu'*
Zanoah in Judah — *Kh. Zanuta?*
Zaanannim s. Be-Zaanannim
Zaphon — *Tell Sa'idiye*
Zarephath *Gr.* Sarepta — *Sarafend*
Zarthan — *Qurn Sartaba??*
Zemaraim — *Ras ez-Zeimara?*
Zephat s. Hormah
*Zer Bashan *E. A.* Ziribashani — *Ezra'*
Zereda — *Khallet Seride*
Zereth Hashahar — *Zarat??*
Zidon — *Seida*
Ziklag — *Tell el-Khuweilife?*
Zior; Zair — *Si'ir*
Ziph — *Tell Zif*
Zoar — *Sheikh 'Isa?*
Zor in Gilead s. Tyros
Zor in Phoenicia s. Tyre
Zorah — *Sar'a*

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